

Current History

A WORLD AFFAIRS MONTHLY

MAY, 1976

WOMEN IN AMERICA

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NO ADVERTISING

Current History

MAY, 1976

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In this issue, women's evolving role in America is explored from several perspectives. As our introductory article points out: "Women are not a marginal 'minority,' and women's history is not a collection of 'missing facts and views' to be incorporated into traditional categories. . . . Women's history demands that men and women be made the measure of significance. The new history will be a synthesis of traditional history and women's history."

The Majority Finds Its Past

BY GERDA LERNER

Professor of History, Sarah Lawrence College

WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE encompasses all that is human; they share—and always have shared—the world equally with men. Equally in the sense that half, at least, of all the world's experience has been theirs; half of the world's work and many of its products.* In one sense, then, to write the history of women means documenting all of history: women have always been making history, living it and shaping it. But the history of women has a special character, a built-in distortion: it comes to us refracted through the lens of men's observations; refracted again through values which consider man the measure. What we know of the past experience of women has been transmitted to us largely through the reflections of men; how we see and interpret what we know about women has been shaped for us through a value system defined by men. And so, to construct a new history that will with true equality reflect the dual nature of mankind—its male and female aspect—we must first pause to reconstruct the missing half—the female experience: women's history.

Until very recently, historical writing ignored the history of women and the female point of view. Beginning five years ago—as a direct outgrowth of the interest in the past of women engendered by the new women's movement—American historians began to develop women's history as an independent field. They began by asking new questions of traditional history, but they soon found themselves searching for a new conceptual framework and a methodology

appropriate to their task.

The first level at which historians, trained in traditional history, approach women's history is by writing the history of "women worthies" or "compensatory history." Who are the women missing from history? Who are the women of achievement and what did they achieve? The resulting history of "notable women," while significant and interesting in itself, must not be mistaken for "women's history." It is the history of exceptional, usually middle or upper class women, and does not describe the experience and history of the mass of women. It does not help us to understand the female point of view nor does it tell us about the significance of women's activities to society as a whole. Like men, women of different classes have different historical experiences. The historical experiences of women of different races are also disparate. In order to comprehend society in all its complexity at any given stage of its development, it is essential to take account of this wide range of differences.

Women also have a different experience as to consciousness, depending on whether their work, their expression, and their activity is male-defined or woman-oriented. Women, like men, are indoctrinated in a male-defined value system and conduct their lives accordingly. Thus, colonial and early nineteenth century female reformers directed their activities into channels that were merely an extension of their domestic concerns and traditional roles. They taught school, cared for the poor, the sick, the aged. Only as their consciousness developed did they turn their attention toward the special needs of women.

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Alongside such extensions of traditionally female roles came the questioning of tradition, often followed by tentative steps in new directions: Anne Hutchinson holding weekly meetings for men and women in which she, not the male clergy, commented on the Bible; Frances Wright daring to assert women's freedom of sexual choice; Margaret Sanger discovering in one moment of insight and empathy that societally enforced motherhood was a wrong no longer to be tolerated.

Then came the reaching out toward other women: sewing circles and female clubs; women workers organizing themselves; women's rights conventions; the building of mass movements of women. By such steps women became "woman-oriented." Out of such activities grew a new self-consciousness, based on the recognition of the separate interests of women as a group. Out of communality and collectivity emerged feminist consciousness—a system of ideas that not only challenged patriarchal values and assumptions, but attempted to substitute for them a feminist system of values and ideas.

Yet male and female historians, trained traditionally and tacitly assuming patriarchal values, have generally dealt with such phenomena only in terms of "contribution history": describing women's contribution to, their status in, and their oppression by male-defined society. Under this category they have asked a variety of questions: What have women contributed to abolition, to reform, to the Progressive movement, to the labor movement, to the New Deal? The movement in question stands in the foreground of inquiry. Women made a "contribution" to it, and the contribution is judged first of all with respect to its effect on the movement and second by standards appropriate to men. The female "leaders" of such reform movements are measured by a male-oriented value system and ranked according to their impact on male-dominated and male-oriented institutions. The ways in which women were aided and affected by the work of these "great women," the ways in which they themselves grew into feminist awareness, are ignored. Jane Addams' enormous contribution in creating a supporting female network and new structures for living are subordinated to her role as a Progressive, or to an interpretation that regards her as merely representative of a group of frustrated college-trained women with no place to go—in other words, a deviant from male-defined norms. Margaret Sanger is seen merely as the founder of the birth control movement, not as a woman raising a revolutionary challenge to the centuries-old practice by which the bodies and lives of women are dominated and ruled by man-made laws. In the labor movement, women are described as "also there" or as problems. The essential role of women on behalf of themselves and of other women is seldom considered

a central theme in writing their history. Women are the outgroup, Simone de Beauvoir's "other."

Another set of questions asked by historians of women's history concerns oppression and its opposite, the struggle for women's rights. Who oppressed women and how were they oppressed? How did they respond to such oppressions? Such questions have yielded detailed and very valuable accounts of economic and social oppression, and of the various organizational, political ways in which women as a group have fought such oppression. It is clear that it is useful to ask the question of history: why and how were women victimized? We learn how women themselves have reacted to the conditions imposed upon them. While inferior status and oppressive restraints were aspects of women's historical experience, the limitation of this approach is that it makes it appear that women were largely passive or that, at the most, they reacted to male pressures or to the restraints of patriarchal society. Such inquiry fails to elicit the positive and essential way in which women have functioned in history, as Mary Beard was the first to point out. I have in my own work learned that it is far more useful to deal with this question as one aspect of women's history, but never to regard it as its *central* aspect.

Essentially, treating women as victims of oppression again places them in a male-defined conceptual framework: oppressed, victimized by standards and values established by men. The true history of women is the history of their ongoing functioning in that male-defined world *on their own terms*. The question of oppression does not elicit that story, and is, therefore, a tool of limited usefulness to the historian.

Family history has offered many insights valuable to the study of the history of women, by computer analysis of data pertaining to large aggregates of anonymous people based on censuses and other public records. A great deal has been learned about changes in marriage patterns, fertility rates and life stages. Such studies have given rise to many new questions, like attitudes toward sexuality and the actual sexual mores of the past. Gender and sexuality have been added to historical analysis, enriching historical inquiry. Still, the questions asked by social history and family history, although they have much pertinence to women's history, do not encompass it.

The most advanced conceptual level by which women's history can now be defined must include an account of the female experience as it changes over time and should include the development of feminist consciousness as an essential aspect of women's historical past. This past includes the quest for rights, equality, and justice which can be subsumed under "women's rights," i.e., the civil rights of women. But the quest for female emancipation from patriarchally

determined subordination encompasses more than the striving for equality and rights. It can be defined best as the quest for autonomy. Autonomy means women defining themselves and the values by which they will live, and beginning to think of institutional arrangements that will order their environment in line with their needs. It means to some the evolution of practical programs, to others the reforming of existing social arrangements, to still others the building of new institutions. Autonomy for women means moving out from a world in which one is born to marginality, bound to a past without meaning, and prepared for a future determined by others. It means moving into a world in which one acts and chooses, aware of a meaningful past and free to shape one's future.

The central question raised by women's history is: what would history be like if it were seen through the eyes of women and ordered by values they define?

Is one justified in speaking of a female historical experience different from that of men? To find an answer to this basic question, it is useful to examine the life cycles and the turning points in individual lives of men and women of the past. Are there significant differences in childhood, education, maturity? Are social expectations different for boys and girls? Taking full cognizance of the wide range of variations, are there any universals by which we can define the female past? Material for answering such questions as far as they pertain to women can be found in many primary sources, some virtually untapped, others familiar. Autobiographical letters and diaries, even those frequently used, yield new information if approached with these questions and rearranged from the female point of view.

There are basic differences in the way boys and girls now and in the past experienced the world and, more important, the social roles they were trained to fulfill. From childhood on, the talents and drives of girls were channeled into different directions than those of boys. For boys, the family was the place from which one sprang and to which one returned for comfort and support, but the field of action was the larger world of wilderness, adventure, industry, labor and politics. For girls, the family was to be the world, their field of action was the domestic circle. He was to express himself in his work and through it and social action help to transform his environment; her individual growth and choices were restricted to lead her to express herself through love, wifehood and motherhood—through the support and nurturance of others who would act for her. The ways in which these gender-differentiated patterns would find expression would change in the course of historical development; the differences in the function assigned to the sexes might widen or narrow, but the fact of different sex role indoctrination remained.

Throughout most of America's past, life was experienced at a different rhythm by men and women. For a boy, education was directed toward a vocational or professional goal, his life ideally moved upward and outward in a straight line until it reached a plateau of fulfillment; the girl's education was sporadic and often interrupted: it did not lead to the fulfillment of her life role, but rather competed with it. Her development was dependent on her relationship to others and was often determined by them; it moved in wavelike, circuitous motion. In the boy's case, life crises were connected to vocational goals: separation from the family for purposes of greater educational opportunity; success or failures in achievement and career; economic decisions or setbacks. For the girl, such crises were more closely connected to stages in her biological life: the transition from childhood to adolescence, and then to marriage, which usually meant, in the past, greater restraint rather than the broadening out which it meant for the boy. Love and marriage for her implied a shifting of domesticity from one household to another, and the onset of her serious responsibilities: childbirth, childrearing and the nurture of the family. Finally came the crisis of widowhood and bereavement which could, depending on her economic circumstances, mean increasing freedom and autonomy or a difficult struggle for economic survival.

All people, in every society, are assigned specific roles and indoctrinated to perform to the expectations and values of that society. But for women this has always meant social indoctrination to a value system that imposed upon them greater restrictions of the range of choices than those of men. During much of the historic past, some of these restrictions were based on women's function as childbearers and the necessity of their bearing many children in order to guarantee the survival of some. With a declining infant mortality rate and advances in medical knowledge that made widely accessible birth control methods possible, the gender-based role indoctrination of women was no longer functional, but anachronistic. Women's indoctrination to motherhood as their primary and life-long function became oppressive, a patriarchal cultural myth. Additionally, even after educational restrictions were removed, women have been trained to fit into institutions shaped, determined and ruled by men. As a result, their definitions of selfhood and self-fulfillment have remained subordinated to those of others.

American women have always shared in the economic life of the nation: in agriculture as equal partners performing separate, but essential work; in industry usually as low-paid unskilled workers; and in the professions overcoming barriers formed by educational discrimination and traditional male dominance. Although the majority of women have al-

ways worked for the same reasons as men—self-support and the support of dependents—their work has been characterized by marginality, temporariness and low status. Typically, they have moved into the male-defined work world as outsiders, often treated as intruders. Thus, after each of the major wars in which the nation engaged, women who during war-time did all essential work and services, were at war's end shunted back to their traditional jobs. As workers, women have been handicapped by direct discrimination in hiring, training and advancement, and, more profoundly, by their sex-role indoctrination that made them consider any work they did as subsidiary to their main job: wife and motherhood.

Thus, women often participated in their own subordination by internalizing the ideology and values that oppressed them and by passing these on to their children. Yet they were not *passive* victims; they always involved themselves actively in the world in their own way. Starting on a stage defined by their life cycle, they often rebelled against and defied societal indoctrination, developed their own definitions of community and built their own female culture.

In addition to their participation in the economic life of society, women have shaped history through community building and participation in politics. American women built community life as members of families, as carriers of cultural and religious values, as founders and supporters of organizations and institutions. So far, historians have taken notice mostly of the first of these functions and of the organizational work of women only insofar as they "contributed" to social reforms. Women's political work has been recognized only as it pertains to women's rights and woman suffrage.

Historical interpretation of the community-building work of women is urgently needed. The voluminous national and local records that document the network of community institutions founded and maintained by women are available. They should be studied against the traditional record of institution-building, which focuses on the activities of men. The research and the monographic work that form the essential groundwork for such interpretations have yet to be done.

The history of women's struggle for the ballot has received a good deal of attention by historians, but this narrow focus has led to the impression that the only political activity in which women engaged in the past was working for woman suffrage. While the importance of that issue is undeniable, it is impossible to understand the involvement of American women in every aspect of the nation's life if their political activity is so narrowly defined. Women were involved in most of the political struggles of the nineteenth century, but the form of their participation and their activities were different from those of men. It is one

of the urgent and as yet unfulfilled tasks of women's history to study the ways in which women influenced and participated in political events, directly or through the mass organizations they built.

The involvement of American women in the important events of American history—the political and electoral crises, the wars, expansion, diplomacy—is overshadowed by the fact of the exclusion of women from political power throughout 300 years of the nation's life. Thus women, half of the nation, are cast in the marginal role of a powerless minority—acted upon, but not acting. That this impression of the female past is a distortion is by now obvious. It is premature to attempt a critical evaluation or synthesis of the role women played in the building of American society. It is not premature to suggest that the fact of the exclusion of women from all those institutions that make essential decisions for the nation is itself an important aspect of the nation's past. In short, what needs to be explained is not why women were so little evident in American history as currently recorded, but why and how patriarchal values affected that history.

The steps by which women moved toward self-respect, self-definition, a recognition of their true position and from there toward a sense of sisterhood, are tentative and varied and have occurred throughout our history. Exceptional women often defied traditional roles, at times explicitly, at other times simply by expressing their individuality to its fullest. The creation of new role models for women included the development of the professional woman, the political leader, the executive, as well as the anonymous working woman, the club woman, the trade unionist. These types were created in the process of changing social activities, but they also were the elements that helped to create a new feminist consciousness. The emergence of feminist consciousness as a historical phenomenon is an essential part of the history of women.

The process of creating a theory of female emancipation is still under way. The challenges of modern American women are grounded in past experience, in the buried and neglected female past. Women have always made history as much as men have, not "con-

(Continued on page 231)

Gerda Lerner has written and lectured extensively on women in history. Among her most recent books are: *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Rebels Against Slavery* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1967); *The Woman in American History* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, Co., 1971); *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York: Pantheon, 1972); and a forthcoming book, *The Female Experience: An American Documentary* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1976).

Women and Social Reform: The Nineteenth Century

By the Editors of *Current History*

IN THE COURSE of four centuries, the role of women in America has reflected the changing American society. The colonial American woman shared in the pioneer adventure; she was essential to a colony's survival and was respected for her contribution to colonial life.

The explorers who mapped out the coast of North America in the sixteenth century were men looking for the passage to India or for the legendary cities of gold. Not until the seventeenth century, when women began to arrive in America in large numbers, was the colonization of the New World possible.

So long as America was a primitive society, needing women for its very survival, women's lives were not too unlike the lives of their fathers, husbands and sons. Along with men, American women endured a frightening trip across 3,000 miles of ocean. The chronic shortage of labor allowed women to participate in the economic life of the colonies. In their homes, they produced life's necessities—the clothing, shoes, food, soap and candles; in the marketplace, they were often storekeepers, printers, innkeepers, writers and—in the plantation South—even managers of large estates. In the search for land and new frontiers, they traveled westward, fighting off the Indians, enduring the often harsh climate, struggling to survive in a hostile land. For the most part, women in the colonies died young, worn out with the effort to stay alive, produce children and nurture them, and keep their families fed and clothed.

A very few women took a more public role. Abigail Adams, wife of the second President of the United States, championed the cause of better treatment—even political status—for women. In Massachusetts, Mercy Otis Warren entertained the political figures of the day and corresponded with Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and other famous figures. Ann Hutchinson demanded the right to speak out on church affairs. The competent Margaret Brent, legal executrix of Leonard Calvert (representative of Lord

Baltimore), demanded not one but two votes in Maryland's House of Burgesses, and failed to get either because of her sex. Eliza Lucas Pinckney managed a vast South Carolina plantation and introduced the growing of indigo, which became one of South Carolina's main crops.

Yet despite exceptional figures like these, American women were regarded as inferior, legally and politically. Unfortunately, the colonists had brought to the New World the Protestant belief that woman was created by God from Adam's rib and cursed by Eve's original sin. A woman's education prepared her for a subordinate social and political role; she was restrained by custom from speaking in public and from taking an active interest in politics.

The colonists also followed the English common law, which regarded women as the possessions of their fathers and husbands. A married woman had no legal existence; all her possessions and her very body belonged legally to her husband. Blackstone, the great English jurist, declared that, after marriage, "the husband and wife are one person."¹ A London resolution of 1632 noted that: "To a married woman, her new self is her superior, her companion, her master."²

Because of the common law view and because the influential spheres of law, politics, and property-holding were closed to women, the rights of half the American people were ignored when the constitution of the infant republic was drafted. In truth, the role of American women in seventeenth and eighteenth century America was often overlooked.

In the late eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth century, a growing number of articulate women protested the treatment accorded their sex. In 1792, in England, Mary Wollstonecraft published her famous book, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, pleading for their equal rights. In 1828, Frances (Fanny) Wright, a Scotswoman, became the first female lecturer in America, speaking to mixed audiences in support of woman's rights. In 1832, Lydia Maria Child published her two-volume *History of the Condition of Women in All Ages*. In the early 1800's, the intellectual movement of transcendentalism attracted women as well as men, including Margaret Fuller, coeditor of the transcendentalist

¹ Miriam Gurko, *The Ladies of Seneca Falls* (New York: Macmillan, 1974), p. 8.

² Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), p. 8, citing *The Lawes Resolutions of Women's Rights; or The Lawes Provision for Women* (London: 1632), pp. 124–125.

periodical, the *Dial*, Elizabeth and Sarah Peabody, Sarah Ripley, and others. Women writers like Jane Grey Swisshelm added their voices to the discussion of the issues of the day.³

The Industrial Revolution completely transformed America in the early nineteenth century. Industry moved outside the home, and men moved into industry. Most American women remained at home, although they no longer played the crucial role in supplying all the necessities of life. Nonetheless, the work of a woman was onerous and physically heavy; most American women worked very hard: at home, they were housewives and servants; in the mills, they were lowly wage-earners. In the South, most enslaved black women worked alongside black men in the fields or were treated as livestock for breeding.

The Industrial Revolution freed some women from drudgery, it is true, but it led more women to the 13-hour workdays in the sweatshops and mills of the newly industrialized society. By the early 1800's, more than 100 industries were hiring women, who worked for very low wages in almost intolerable conditions.⁴

At the same time, romantic concepts of a woman's role and new definitions of propriety, evolving in Victorian England, were stereotyping the American female as somehow inferior physically—less healthy, less strong—and at the same time more spiritual and less sensual, more appreciative of life's finer values, than the American male. It did not matter that reality belied the stereotype. The women who had helped to establish the colonies were forgotten; the

³ Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment* (New York: Harper and Row, 1944), pp. 436ff.

⁴ Judith O'Sullivan and Rosemary Gallick, *Workers and Allies: Female Participation in the American Trade Union Movement, 1824-1976* (Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian Press, 1975), p. 11; also Flexner, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

women—the great majority of women—who were engaged in heavy physical work were ignored.

Gradually, middle class American women began to conform to Victorian concepts of propriety in behavior and dress; they avoided physical exercise and stifled themselves in heavy garments that made them appear helpless and sickly even if they were not.

This mythical female—delicate, charming, helpless, the guardian of civilization's finer qualities—was sold to Americans as the ideal woman for more than a century. So pervasive was the Victorian image as transmitted in penny novels (often written by women), newspapers, and sermons, that twentieth century women are still fighting free of this concept.

Neither the nineteenth century age of reform nor the successful struggle for woman suffrage eliminated the stereotype. In the early twentieth century, the new medical science of psychiatry reinforced the popular myth, following Sigmund Freud's view of a woman as a castrated male and his dicta that for women anatomy is destiny and that all women envy men. The first half of the twentieth century did not bring female equality; on the contrary, after two world wars a new Victorian ideal overwhelmed a whole generation of American women, and in the 1950's women returned to home and large families with a new dedication.

Not until the social and sexual revolution of the 1960's did women begin to reassert their claim to equality of opportunity—political, social, economic, educational and sexual. Their attitudes toward family life, their views of the obligations of marriage, motherhood, and careers, their definitions of morality and their expectations for themselves are slowly changing in the 1970's. Thus, in 1976, 200 years after the birth of the nation, American women stand belatedly at the threshold of a new society. ■

WOMEN AND THE ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT

BY CAROL L. THOMPSON

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, the new Jacksonian democracy, and the religious revival that swept America in the early nineteenth century set the stage for the great era of reform. Lectures, debates and prayer meetings were crowded. Pamphlets and petitions circulated everywhere. Men and women believed passionately in infinite progress, the perfectability of human institutions, a Utopia where there would be no war, no crime, no poverty, no strong drink, no prostitution, and no slaves.

Men and women shared in the enthusiasm of the age, founding societies for the improvement of almost

every human condition. Charitable societies were formed to help the poor. Missionary societies were established to support evangelical work overseas. Penal reform, educational reform, public sanitation—all were included. It was not surprising that in this emotional climate, antislavery societies attracted increasing numbers of men and women and proliferated across the country.

The evils of slavery had long been a concern to reformers both in the North and in the South. "Of the 130 abolition societies established before 1827 by [Benjamin] Lundy, the forerunner of [William Lloyd] Garrison, more than a hundred, with four-fifths of the total membership, were in the South,"¹ wrote W. J. Cash, in his book on *The Mind of the South*.

¹ Wilbur J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 63.

Slavery was an integral feature of the Southern economy, and the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 meant that slavery was increasingly profitable in the plantation south and in those states that bred and traded in slaves.

In 1791, for example, the American cotton crop totaled 2 million pounds; in 1801, 40 million pounds of cotton were produced, and in 1840, cotton production was one million bales of 500 pounds each.² Concurrently, the slave population of America grew from approximately one million in 1800, to 1.75 million in 1825, to 400 million in 1863.³ On the eve of the Civil War, a slave was worth between \$1200 and \$1800,⁴ and there were enormous profits in the trading, breeding and selling of slaves.

Because of these profits, and because of the need for enslaved black men and women on the cotton plantations of the South, slavery was always an economic issue in the United States. But in the 1800's as men and women pushed the American frontier westward, slavery also became an important political issue. Should slavery be allowed to spread west, allowing the expansion of the Southern plantation economy? Or should the South's "peculiar institution" be restricted to the old South?

The institution of slavery, like the inferior status of women, was protected by the United States constitution, which provided, however, that the African slave trade should end in 1808. In the peak year of 1734, 70,000 slaves were imported into North America. It has been estimated that in the course of the slave trade 5 million Africans were brought to America in chains.⁵ Between 1776 and 1804, seven states chose to free their slaves; in 1819, there were 11 free and 11 slave states represented in the United States Senate. Thereafter, each new territorial acquisition, each new state of the Union, sharpened the struggle between slave states and antislavery forces. The Missouri Compromise of 1820, which admitted Missouri as a slave state and Maine as a free state, was overturned in 1850, when California was admitted as a free state, and no restrictions were placed on the territories of New Mexico and Utah. This Compromise of 1850 also provided for a more stringent fugitive slave law.

Responding to the challenge of spreading slavery, between 1775 and 1830 antislavery societies were formed across the nation, and antislavery publications flourished. Eventually, there were some 2,000

local antislavery societies in the United States, with some 200,000 members, men and women. Women were already active in church groups and charitable organizations, but it was the antislavery movement that schooled them in political activism—organization, petition and public speaking to often hostile audiences. From the beginning, some leaders of the antislavery movement welcomed the help of women; others refused to accept their aid.

In 1832, the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society was established under the leadership of Maria Weston Chapman and 12 other women. There were four women present, including Lucretia Mott, when the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed in Philadelphia in 1833. The organization was led by young radical abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison of Boston, the editor of the *Liberator*. Because no women were allowed to join the society, some 20 women founded the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society that same year.

It is difficult to visualize the fear and hatred evoked when abolition became a political issue, particularly when women began to take an active part in the antislavery movement. In 1835, an angry mob rioted when Garrison addressed a racially mixed audience of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. A few years later, in 1838, a mob burned down a hall where the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women was meeting.⁶ In the early 1880's, a "lady" did not speak in public, let alone address a "promiscuous," i.e., mixed, audience, or travel around the country; early women supporters of abolition did not discuss it in public. But as women were caught up in the movement, they began to chafe at the restrictions on American females and began to press for woman's right to speak and to participate in public life.

Angelina and Sarah Grimké, educated as gentlewomen in South Carolina, were the first female abolitionist agents to press publicly for abolition.⁷ In 1836, the Grimké sisters began to address small parlor groups of women; in 1837, they began speaking tours of Massachusetts, eventually speaking to "promiscuous" audiences and describing their personal observations of the evils of slavery.

Their activities provoked sharp criticism from the scandalized New England clergy and even from other women in the antislavery movement. In July, 1837, the Massachusetts clergy published a "*Pastoral Letter of the General Association of Massachusetts to the Congregational Churches Under Their Care*," a letter read aloud to their congregations:

We invite your attention to the dangers which at present seem to threaten the female character with wide-spread and permanent injury . . . when [woman] assumes the place and tone of man as a public reformer, her character becomes unnatural.⁸

Sarah Grimké answered the Pastoral Letter in a

² *Ibid.*, p. 305.

³ Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974), vol. 1, p. 29.

⁴ Francis B. Simkins and Charles P. Roland, *A History of the South* (New York: Random House, 1972), p. 120.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

⁶ Miriam Gurko, *The Ladies of Seneca Falls* (New York: Macmillan, 1974), p. 35.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

letter that contained the now famous defense of woman's rights:

But I ask no favors for my sex. I surrender not our claim to equality. All I ask of my brethren is, that they will take their feet from off our necks and permit us to stand upright on that ground which God designed us to occupy. . . .⁹

In 1837, in an *Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism, with reference to the Duty of Women*, addressed to Angelina, the well-known author Catharine Beecher opposed any public action of women and criticized the still dormant woman's rights movement.¹⁰

Eventually, the antislavery movement itself split on the issue of woman's participation. Most abolition leaders believed that the issue of woman's rights should be subordinate to the abolition issue. Thus Theodore Weld, writing to the Grimké sisters:

Let us all first wake up the nation to lift millions of slaves of both sexes from the dust, and turn them into MEN and then when we all have our hand in, it will be an easy matter to take millions of females from their knees and set them on their feet, or in other words transform them from babies into women.¹¹

In May, 1840, at a convention in New York, when Garrison supported woman's right to speak and to hold office in the national society, those opposed to Garrison formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

The following month marked a turning point in the attitude of women toward their role in humanitarian reform. When the World Anti-Slavery Convention opened in London in June, 1840, several American women were there. Both New York and Massachusetts included women in their delegations; the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society and the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society sent women delegates; the American Anti-Slavery Society was represented by Lucretia Mott and four men. However, the women delegates were not seated at the convention; despite their protests they were segregated in a "curtained" gallery. From the gallery, the 47-year-old Mott and the 25-year-old Elizabeth Cady Stanton watched angrily, with Abbey Kelley Foster and other women who were workers in the abolition cause. Out of their disappointment, some of these women called the convention at Seneca Falls in 1848 that marked the beginning of the woman's suffrage movement.

Although in the 1850's the abolition movement was still divided on the place of women, women were crossing the country speaking out against slavery and

gathering petitions to Congress asking for the emancipation of the slaves.

Petitions to abolish slavery had flooded Congress as antislavery societies gained strength. In 1836, a "gag rule" was adopted by the House under which the House refused to consider antislavery petitions; when the rule was repealed in 1844, petitions again flooded into Washington. Collecting petitions was one of the first public political actions undertaken by women abolitionists. The women walking from door to door "were the first detachment in the army of ordinary rank-and-file women who were to struggle for more than three quarters of a century for equality," writes Flexner.

It took the same kind of courage as that displayed by the Grimké sisters for the average housewife . . . to overstep the limits of decorum, disregard the frowns, or jeers, or outright commands of her menfolk and go to her first public meeting or take her first petition and walk down an unfamiliar street, knocking on doors and asking for signatures to an unpopular plea . . . [where] she usually encountered hostility if not outright abuse for her unwomanly behavior.¹²

At the same time, women were leading slaves to freedom via the dangerous Underground Railroad, despite the strong Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Harriet Tubman, the most famous black woman of her day, personally rescued more than 300 fugitive slaves from the South and made 19 trips from the South to Canada although there was an enormous price on her head.

The Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 did not free the slaves in those states not at war with the Union; thus, it was obvious that a constitutional amendment was needed to abolish slavery all over the United States. To meet the need, in May, 1863, the National Woman's Loyal League was founded, with Lucy Stone as convener. Elizabeth Stanton became president of the League; Susan B. Anthony acted as secretary, with a salary of \$12 a week.

Just fifteen months later, the organization had 2,000 members and had collected 400,000 petitions for the thirteenth amendment to the constitution, abolishing slavery in the United States. The petitions were presented to the United States Senate by Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner; the amendment was proposed on February 1, 1865, and was ratified on December 18 of that same year.

The issue of slavery introduced women to politics and united them in the search for abolition; it also eventually caused the great split in the woman's movement. After the passage of the thirteenth amendment, Elizabeth Stanton and Susan B. Anthony insisted that women should be included in the suffrage guarantees of the fourteenth amendment, which had been written to assure voting rights to all

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹¹ Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment* (New York: Harper and Row, 1944), p. 444.

¹² Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), p. 51.

"males." Many abolitionists, women among them, believed that it was more important to secure the voting rights of all males regardless of race or color, than to cloud the issue by insisting on woman suf-

frage. In the event, the fourteenth amendment was limited to male suffrage; the exclusion of women set the stage for the long and bitter struggle for woman suffrage that followed. ■

WOMEN AND THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

BY VIRGINIA C. KNIGHT

IN THE EARLY nineteenth century, women were attracted to the temperance cause for a variety of reasons. Most women were confined in a narrow domestic world, responsible not only for all household duties, but for establishing and imbuing in their children morality or "Christianity." Thus women were caught up in the reform and revivalist movements because they had come to be regarded and to regard themselves as the guardians of morality.

Women also saw liquor and the misery it brought to them and their families as an evil to be scourged from society. In a number of states, when a woman married, her husband gained control of her property and her wages.¹ Therefore, women looked at the temperance cause as a way to exert more control over their own lives. By removing the availability of alcohol from a drunken husband, father or son, they hoped to prevent the dissipation of family income.

It was under the auspices of the church that women began to reach out from the isolation of their homes. In the early 1800's in New England, women formed religious societies where they learned to organize, to raise money, and to speak effectively in public. "The churches taught their women members to combine and to operate outside their houses. They taught that it was *good* to do so."² From the 1790's until the Civil War, temperance activities were church related, conducted under the auspices of the church and promoted by it.

The temperance movement took on another guise after the Civil War, going far beyond traditional activities. Under the leadership of Frances Willard, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) members came to see the evils of alcohol as symptoms of a world in which they had little economic and no political control.

During the eighteenth century, alcohol was important to colonial life, not just as an enjoyable spirit but as an economic necessity. For Pennsylvania

farmers, for example, whiskey was the principal source of income.

By 1792, the states had a population of 4 million people. There were 2,579 registered distilleries, producing 5.2 million taxable gallons of liquor. The per capita consumption for every man, woman and child has been estimated at two and one half gallons a year (including imported spirits).³ The actual consumption figure was probably much higher, because most people distilled their own spirits, and of course, home distilled products were not taxed. By 1810, there were 14,191 registered distilleries, producing 25 million gallons a year; consumption had tripled although the population had only doubled. Per capita consumption was estimated at four and one half gallons, but this figure is low, considering the number of abstainers and the illegal or unreported distilleries. Actual average per capita consumption was probably closer to 12 gallons a year.⁴ It is estimated that more than \$12 million per year was spent on liquor.⁵

Public awareness of the evils of drinking was brought into focus in 1785 by Benjamin Rush, staff surgeon to the Pennsylvania Hospital and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. When he published *An Inquiry into the Effect of Ardent Spirits*, he began a debate that raged for almost 150 years. In his *Inquiry*, he declared that even moderate amounts of liquor would cause almost every form of physical disease, and a perversion of morals as well. The American Tract Society published eight editions of the *Inquiry* and by 1850 there were 172,000 copies in print.⁶

Within a year of Rush's *Inquiry*, the Reverend Philip William Otterbein established the Church of United Brethren of Christ, which refused communion to anyone who drank. A year later, the New England Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends (Quakers) required their members to take a pledge of abstinence. When Lyman Beecher published his *Six Sermons* on the evils of drinking in 1826, he was supported by clergymen and lay people throughout the country.

In 1826, the Reverend Justin Edwards of the Congregational Church in Andover, Massachusetts, founded the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, later known as the American Temperance Union. By 1830, about 2,000 temperance so-

¹ Andrew Sinclair, *The Better Half: The Emancipation of the American Woman* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 88.

² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³ John Kobler, *Ardent Spirits* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1973), p. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 318.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

cieties had been formed in the North. They were brought together in 1833 as the United States Temperance Union. In that year, there were 23 state and more than 5,000 local temperance societies, with 1.3 million members.⁷ By 1851, 13 northern states had laws prohibiting the sale of alcohol.

However, by 1858, because prohibition statutes were easily repealed, seven states had repealed or modified their laws. In addition, the laws were very hard to enforce. Thus, at the height of the early temperance movement, per capita consumption of beer, wine, and whiskey increased from 4.08 gallons to 6.43 gallons.⁸

On the eve of the Civil War, as the issues of abolition and states rights began to divide the country, moral reforms lost their urgency. Temperance groups lost their members as other causes drew their support; drinking increased as people sought relief from the hardships of the Civil War.

Agitation for temperance revived in the early 1870's, and this time the agitators, both peaceful and militant, were women. The women's "Crusade" began on Christmas Eve in 1873, in Hillsboro, Ohio, a town of 5,000 people with 13 saloons and 18 hotels and drugstores selling liquor.⁹ The women began to pray in front of saloons until the owners closed them down.

The Crusaders made front-page headlines, and the movement spread quickly through the Midwest and South, and to California. Early in 1874, nearly 17,000 saloons, drugstores, and hotels went out of business in Ohio; 1,000, in New York, and 30,000, nationally; 8 Ohio breweries closed and a total of 750 breweries closed in other states; beer consumption declined by nearly 6 million gallons.¹⁰

But the effects of the Crusade were temporary; within a year of the Hillsboro closings most establishments selling liquor had reopened. It was apparent that the tactics of the temperance groups—petitioning state legislatures or praying the saloons shut—had no lasting effect. In 1874, women active in temperance causes from all parts of the country met in Cleveland, Ohio, and formed the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union; subsequently,

they adopted the motto "For God, Home and Native Land."

In 1875, the WCTU broke with the traditionalists (who believed that moral persuasion alone was enough to change American drinking habits) and petitioned Congress for a constitutional amendment prohibiting the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages.¹¹ Because constitutional reform would be more difficult to achieve, they believed that it would also be more difficult to change.

In 1879, Frances Willard succeeded the WCTU's original president, Annie Wittenmeyer. Under Willard's leadership, the WCTU adopted a "Do Everything" policy; it established 38 different departments to focus on varying aspects of needed social reform.¹²

Through the WCTU, especially under Willard's leadership, women from rural America, from the small towns and farms, gradually learned the importance of the vote. Originally, they demanded the right to vote only on local options with regard to the manufacture and distribution of alcohol. Eventually, the temperance movement pulled rural American women into the mainstream of American political life.

In 1880, the WCTU organized a political party, the "Home Protection party." In 1882, it merged with the Prohibition party, which supported woman's suffrage. The new party, the Prohibition Home Protection party, ran a candidate in the 1882 presidential election on the National Prohibition party ticket. The Prohibition party subsequently held the deciding votes in Democratic Grover Cleveland's election victory over Republican James Blaine.

Willard's hold over the WCTU began to slacken; she had lost the support of a segment of her organization when she supported the Prohibition party and in 1892, despite her best efforts, she was unable to unify all reform groups at the "People's Convention."

After Frances Willard's death in 1898, the WCTU turned inward under the leadership of Anna Shaw. As the temperance movement grew in membership, animosity between suffragists and temperance members increased. Perhaps, as some suffragists argued, the WCTU alienated suffrage supporters who were afraid that if women had the vote they would vote dry.¹³ Urban women also feared that the rural women were trying to impose their provincial morality on them through suffrage. (It was not until the labor movement supported suffrage demands that middle class urban women took the suffrage movement seriously.)

Women like Carry A. Nation furthered the estrangement between rural and urban women. Nation began her one-woman crusade in 1900 in Kansas, where she was the organizer of the Medicine Lodge WCTU chapter. She began her mission by smashing the properties of three Kiowa, Kansas, "joints" or saloons. From there, she went to Wichita, where she

⁷ Kobler, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

¹² Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), p. 184.

¹³ Feelings ran strong among many suffragists that the quest for woman's vote and the issue of prohibition should not be linked. In the Northwest territory, Abigail Duniway, a leading suffrage worker, threatened to have Anna Shaw, a WCTU leader, arrested if she ever came to the Northwest territory. Duniway was convinced that the temperance people were responsible for the long fight for woman suffrage in Oregon. (Sinclair, *op. cit.*, p. 221.)

was arrested. A photograph of Nation praying on her jail cell floor with a Bible in her hand appeared on front pages across the country. She continued her rampage, smashing saloons with a hatchet or sledgehammer from Topeka to Chicago to Cincinnati to Atlantic City to Philadelphia to New York.

In 1895, concurrent with the dissension in the WCTU, the male-dominated Anti-Saloon League of America was formed. The WCTU and the Prohibition party, suspicious at first of the League's questionable tactics, eventually joined forces with the League, eventually to be overwhelmed by it.

In 1907 the League gathered momentum, increasing its membership and winning seats in Congress. In 1913, a bill was introduced in the Senate and then in the House of Representatives to amend the consti-

¹⁴ Once again enforcement of the law was the major problem and by 1933 enough support was gathered to pass the twenty-first amendment to the constitution repealing the eighteenth amendment.

tution; it called for the virtual outlawing of intoxicating liquor. The Hobson-Sheppard Resolution was never reported out of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

During World War I, the League regrouped and continued to pressure for prohibition, this time capitalizing on popular animosity toward the German brewers and the need for wartime supplies. In 1917, the House and Senate passed the eighteenth amendment prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquor. By 1919, 36 states had ratified the amendment. In January, 1920, the amendment took effect. The Volstead Act of 1919 had further refined the provisions of prohibition.¹⁴

Especially in the last half of the nineteenth century, the temperance movement was important to American women because it mobilized a tremendous number of women into political action and brought women to a growing awareness of their second class status. ■

THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

BY JOAN B. ANTELL

WOMAN SUFFRAGE is a modern phenomenon, in the United States and all over the world. Only in the twentieth century have most women received the right to vote in national elections. For American women, this 56-year-old constitutional right is guaranteed by the nineteenth amendment, whose final ratification was won by a single vote in the Tennessee state legislature in August, 1920.

The fight for political equality began officially at a meeting called at Seneca Falls, New York, in July, 1848. At this first feminist convention, attended by some 260 women and 40 men, Elizabeth Cady Stanton insisted on the adoption of "Resolution Nine," declaring "that it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise." The resolution was passed by a narrow margin.

In 1848, the right to vote was considered less important than the redress of the social, legal and economic grievances suffered by women. But by 1900, the most glaring inequalities listed at Seneca Falls, with the exception of the right to vote, had been eliminated. In their *History of Woman Suffrage*, Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper wrote that by 1900 a woman enjoyed:

the right to have personal freedom, to acquire an education, to earn a living, to claim her wages, to own property, to make contract, to bring suit, to testify in court, to obtain a divorce for just cause, to possess her children, to claim a fair share of the accumulations during marriage.¹

Yet of the demands made by pioneering feminists, only the demand for political equality and suffrage triggered a tremendous hostility, partly because "the issue of woman suffrage involved a status conflict which was inevitably interlaced with a conflict over values."² Because of this bedrock of "deeply rooted prejudice and encrusted tradition in the citadels of economic and political power," it would take women many years to make their influence and numbers felt.³

What raw nerve was excited by the demand for woman suffrage? Brewery and liquor interests opposed woman suffrage because of the fear that women, with their natural predilection for a stable and orderly society would vote as "drys." Business and managerial interests opposed woman suffrage on the assumption that women voters would press for labor and social welfare reforms. The conservative South felt threatened because woman suffrage would mean the enfranchisement of Negro women and because a federal amendment would infringe on the states' right to establish voting qualifications. At issue also was the assumption, summarized by John Quincy Adams, that

women are fitted for nothing but the cares of domestic life, for bearing children and cooking the food of a family, devoting all their time to the domestic circle—to pro-

¹ Quoted in Alan P. Grimes, *The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 78-9.

² Grimes, *op. cit.*, p. x.

³ Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Atheneum, 1972), p. 170.

moting the immediate personal comfort of their husbands, brothers and sons. . . .⁴

The courage to buck the tide of prejudice and tradition had its roots in the natural rights philosophy of the eighteenth century, in the Romantic movement, with its emphasis on the individual qua individual, in the humanism of the period.

The revolt of the feminists—it must never be forgotten that they represented a small fragment of their sex—was in large part a protest in the name of democracy against the subordinate role of females, to use the word most common to mid-century. Every argument that men had ever employed for their rights as citizens and human beings women crusaders now used. Henceforth, they insisted, the relations between the sexes must be governed by the doctrine of equality, of democracy.⁵

Those reformers without interest in abstract concepts relied on utilitarianism, whose major principle was "the greatest good of the greatest number." Woman suffrage was regarded not only as an end in itself, but as an instrument of reform, a tool for achieving the greatest good. The unbounded optimism and belief in progress of mid-century America reinforced the idea that woman suffrage would be a means to create a better world; it was expected that women with their purer and more spiritual natures, would vote in favor of social and economic reform. This argument developed most strongly among the proponents of Populism and Progressivism in the post-Civil War era.

At least at its inception, the woman suffrage movement was of necessity a white, northeastern, middle class movement. Many feminist pioneers were first of all humanists, who wanted to work for the abolition of slavery or for temperance. Thus the woman's rights movement was a direct outgrowth of women's desire to enter into the life of the country and to work actively for the causes they supported.

A dramatic impetus was given to the movement in 1840, at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London, when the convention ruled that only men would be seated. Among the women excluded were Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth C. Stanton, who called the first woman's rights convention at the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls, New York, eight years later, on July 19–20, 1848, a memorable year for revolutionary fireworks.

In the aftermath of the Seneca Falls meeting, a national woman's rights convention was held every

year between 1850 and 1860, except for 1857. During this decade, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth C. Stanton forged their indomitable personal alliance. Their goal was broad: they fought for abolition, temperance and woman's rights. But their work was hampered, as were all female reform societies, by the fact that a married woman had no "right to her individual and joint earnings,"⁶ and could contribute little in financial support to these causes.

During the Civil War, women became actively involved in national politics. Because of the role of women in nursing and relief work during the conflict, suffrage leaders expected that women would be given the vote in recognition of their impressive war-time efforts.

Such an easy victory proved elusive. The suffragists were surprised by the defection from their ranks of their Republican and abolitionist supporters afraid of jeopardizing the Negro's enfranchisement. In 1868, section 2 of the fourteenth amendment introduced the word "male" into the United States constitution for the first time. This created new problems for the suffragists. Woman suffrage had been regarded as a matter for state action; in light of the term "male," a constitutional amendment might be necessary before women could vote in federal elections. After the ratification of the fourteenth amendment, the first constitutional amendment on woman suffrage was introduced in Congress by Senator S. C. Pomeroy of Kansas, in December, 1868.

The ratification of the fourteenth amendment divided the woman's rights forces. Insisting on a woman suffrage amendment to the constitution, Stanton and Anthony broke with the abolitionist Equal Rights Association and formed the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) in 1869, restricted in membership to women because of disenchantment with erstwhile male allies. The NWSA was sympathetic to the women and children making up the unskilled and exploited labor force of a growing capitalist economy.

A second group, led by Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe and others, was committed to working in the individual states to secure the franchise and to this end established the American Woman Suffrage Association in November, 1869. Over the years, this state-by-state approach to amend the individual state constitutions proved an exercise in futility. Between 1870 and 1910, there were 480 campaigns to persuade 33 state legislatures to submit state woman suffrage amendments to the voters. But only 17 referenda were actually held, and suffragist victories were limited to Colorado and Idaho.

Underlying the rift between the American Woman Suffrage Association and the National Woman Suffrage Association were their "deeply opposing social

⁴ Adams, refuting this assumption, noted that "the mere departure of women from the duties of the domestic circle, far from being a reproach to her, is a virtue of the highest order. . . ." Quoted in Flexner, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁵ Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought*, 3d ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 374.

⁶ Susan B. Anthony, quoted in Alma Lutz, *Susan B. Anthony: Rebel, Crusader, Humanitarian* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), p. 38.

viewpoints—the conservative and the radical,” which led to their disagreement over the methods of gaining the franchise.⁷ With the growing polarization of social forces in the 1870's and 1880's, their differences were irreconcilable. It was 20 years before the breach was healed by the merger of the two groups into the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1890.

In 1867, woman suffrage faced its first political challenge in a Kansas state referendum on whether Negroes and women should be allowed to vote. Despite the intensity of the feminist campaign, the women, as well as the blacks, lost.

Subsequently, the idea of woman suffrage picked up some momentum. The territorial legislature of Wyoming passed a woman suffrage bill in 1869; once on the voting lists, women were eligible to sit on juries, which they did, despite the uproar this action created.⁸ In February, 1870, Utah territory followed Wyoming and enfranchised its female population. However, this franchise was rescinded by Congress when it approved the Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1877, an act primarily remembered for outlawing plural marriage in this largely Mormon community.

Women continued to press for the vote. During 1871 and 1872, about 150 women attempted to vote in ten states and the District of Columbia. The best-known attempt was made by Susan B. Anthony and 16 other women, who registered and then voted in the election of 1872. Although Anthony was found guilty and fined \$100, she refused to pay the fine. Because the presiding judge did not order her imprisoned for nonpayment, she could not take her case to the United States Supreme Court on a writ of habeas corpus. Thus, her only avenue for legal protest was closed.

However, the Supreme Court did act on the woman suffrage question in the case of *Minor v. Happersett* (1875), in which counsel for Virginia Minor argued that women were citizens of the United States and were thus entitled to all the privileges and immunities thereof, including the right to vote. The

Supreme Court ruled that Virginia Minor did not have the right to vote under the fourteenth amendment.

Although the cause of woman suffrage seemed to come to a dead halt in the period from 1870 to 1910, when few tangible gains were made, the woman's rights movement was growing. Public education became more readily available. More women went to college, and many more entered the labor force. Local women's clubs flourished, soon to be followed by the establishment of national organizations for women and by the evolution of the settlement-house movement, which in turn strengthened the cause of woman suffrage.

Coincidentally, middle class women had time to pursue outside interests; the influx of unskilled immigrants seeking domestic work gave their female employers time to engage in community affairs. “. . . The social transformations that permitted women to participate, outside their homes, in activities that inevitably led them into politics” also made possible the development of a movement that could win the vote.⁹

During this period, disquieting tones of racism and nativism were sounded by many suffragists, who shared a popular belief in the superiority of white Protestant Anglo-Saxon culture. The early feminists' faith in a common humanity was being eroded. Ironically, Stanton herself used the derogatory term “Sambo” to describe blacks and scored the fact that the vote was given to male immigrants who could barely speak, let alone read or write, English, while native-born American women were denied all political power.¹⁰

In 1890, Wyoming became the first state to enter the union with a state constitution providing for woman suffrage. In 1893, Colorado granted woman suffrage by popular vote (the first state to do so in this way). Idaho and the new state of Utah gave women the vote in 1896. A 14-year impasse followed, and the woman suffrage movement was not revitalized until Washington gave women the vote in 1910. In California, a bitter fight was waged between the suffragists and the liquor interests, who were fearful of favorable votes for prohibition. Carrie Chapman Catt clearly saw that the “wets,” anti-prohibitionist, were the greatest foes of woman suffrage:

had there been no prohibition movement in the United States, the women would have been enfranchised two generations before they were. Had that movement not won its victory, they would have struggled on for another generation.¹¹

Able to vote in six western states as of 1911, women could influence 37 electoral votes in a presidential
(Continued on page 231)

⁷ Flexner, *op. cit.*, 153–54.

⁸ Walter Prescott Webb observed that “the men of the West were the first to grant the women the franchise. . . . It was not the vaunted chivalry of the South nor the cool justice of the Brahman of the North that gave women the ballot.” *The Great Plains*, Grosset's Universal Library (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, n.d.), p. 505.

⁹ Aileen Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement 1890–1920*, Anchor Books (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971), p. IX.

¹⁰ One of the few well-known suffragists who championed the cause of immigrant women was Jane Addams, founder of Chicago's Hull House, the first settlement house in the United States.

¹¹ Quoted in Andrew Sinclair, *The Emancipation of the American Women*, Harper Colophon Books (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 228. This book was formerly titled *The Better Half*.

"Reforms [in the laws regarding the status of women in America] . . . have been piecemeal, and there are still areas in the law in which persons are treated differently on the basis of sex."

The Changing Legal Status of American Women

BY LAUREL R. BERGOLD

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IN EARLY AMERICAN LAW, the legal status of a woman depended on her marital status.¹ An adult single woman was afforded many of the private legal rights given to men: she was competent to draft binding contracts and other legal documents, make and receive gifts, bring and defend lawsuits (although by deputy) and become the legal guardian of her children. A single woman was subject to considerable legal disabilities, however, in the area of public rights. Although considered a citizen, she could not hold public office, testify in court, or, with minor exceptions,² sit on a jury. Although there is evidence that women voted in the New England and Middle Atlantic colonies during the eighteenth century, by the time the constitution was ratified women were excluded from suffrage in almost every state. In 1776, however, New Jersey permitted "all inhabitants" to vote if they fulfilled the age, residency and

property requirements, and 14 years later the revised state constitution expressly designated voters as "he" or "she." Women cast one-quarter of the vote in some townships, but female voters were disenfranchised in New Jersey in 1807.³

When a woman married, her legal status changed drastically; she was not recognized legally as a separate person. As Sir William Blackstone, the leading commentator of the common law, noted:

by marriage the husband and wife are one person in law; that is the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage or at least incorporated or consolidated into that of the husband, under whose wing, protection and cover, she performs everything.⁴

The colonists adopted Blackstone's "non-person" view of the legal status of women. A married woman's land was controlled by her husband, who was given an absolute right to all profits derived from the land and who could assign this right without his wife's consent. If a child was born during the marriage, the husband became a "tenant by the curtesy" of this land, which enabled him to control it for his entire life even after the death of his wife or child. In Connecticut, a husband owned his wife's property outright. The husband, upon marriage, became the owner of his wife's personal property, which could be attached by the husband's creditors. With the exception of the wife's necessary clothes, the husband was given the power to convey or will his wife's personal property.⁵ Although a wife had no right to her spouse's personal property, she did have a "dower" interest in his realty. Since the husband had an absolute right to control his own and his wife's real property while he was alive, her interest was a mere expectancy while he lived. The husband was unable to convey his land without his wife's consent because this would prevent the wife from receiving her share of the husband's land upon his death.

¹ See, generally, W. Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Law of England* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott & Co., 1857), ch. 15, pp. 433-445. F. Pollack and F. Maitland, *The History of English Law*, 2d ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1898), vol. 1, pp. 482-485. F. Pollack and F. Maitland, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 399-438.

² Under the English common law, when a woman on death row asserted that she was pregnant, a special jury of 12 women was convened to verify the fact of pregnancy, because a woman could not be killed if the fetus was alive. The same type of jury was established if a woman was suspected of feigning pregnancy to exclude the heirs in a probate proceeding. In all other situations, women were excluded from jury duty. See Blackstone, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 362, and vol. 4, p. 395.

³ See Linda De Pauw, "Stories for Free Children, the Forgotten Spirit of '76, Women in the Revolutionary Era," *Ms*, July, 1974. Andrew Sinclair, *The Emancipation of the American Woman* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965). For an enumeration of state constitutional and statutory provisions relating to suffrage in early United States history, see *Minor v. Happersett*, 88 U.S. (21 Wall.) 162 (1874).

⁴ Blackstone, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 442.

⁵ This common law rule was subject to one exception: although the husband could dispose of his wife's jewelry during his lifetime, he could not bequeath it by will.

Disabilities relating to property were not the only legal impediments under which married women suffered. With minor exceptions, a married woman was unable to make contracts or deeds. She could not make a will or sue without the express consent of her husband and, unless he was a named party, she was not subject to suit.

A married woman was under legal disabilities in the field of criminal law as well. Although she was able to be indicted and punished for a crime apart from her husband, if she committed a criminal act under his command she was not guilty of that act.⁶ The law presumed that she was coerced into the criminal act by her spouse. Furthermore, if her husband was merely at the scene of the crime, a presumption of coercion arose.

A married woman, however, did have some rights. She had the legal capacity to serve as an executrix with powers to sue and contract on behalf of the estate. It was also true that the harsh common law disabilities regarding married women were enforced less strictly in America than in England.⁷ Women were aided by both lawyers and judges ignorant of the intricacies of British common law and by economic conditions. With the shortage of skilled persons in the colonies and the growth of commercial enterprise, some married women assumed responsibilities for landed estates and businesses.

The wealthy and middle classes, who gave dowries to their daughters in marriage, devised ways of evading the law and protecting their inheritance. Through antenuptial agreements and trust arrangements, a woman in America could prevent a husband from exercising the power over her property that he would have had at common law. These legal devices, as well as powers of attorney and separation agreements, were enforced more readily in the colonies than they would have been in England. In some instances, a colonial or state legislature gave a

specific married woman the power to contract and control property.

Despite these exceptions, the common law remained alive in America. Only the privileged classes knew enough to evade the law through legal devices; the lower classes suffered under the common law rules. Furthermore, the extension of a woman's right by contract required the agreement of her spouse and enforcement by a male judiciary; the enactment of private legislative acts required the assent of an all-male legislature.

However, by the second half of the nineteenth century, there was widespread disagreement with the words of Blackstone that:

even the disabilities which the wife lies under are for the most part intended for her protection and benefit; so great a favorite is the female sex of the [common] law.⁸

Between 1839 and the end of the nineteenth century, every state enacted Married Women's Acts to supplant in varying degrees the harsh provisions of the common law.⁹ These statutes gave a woman substantial control over her own property and earnings. With the Married Women's Acts came an important conceptual change. The common law concept of a merger of a woman into the legal person of her husband could not be maintained when a woman was separated from her husband in a matter as important to the nineteenth century as property.

The Married Women's Acts, however, did not result from a widespread legislative belief in the equality of women; the reforms were piecemeal and consisted of detailed statutory provisions changing specific aspects of the common law. Not only did these laws vary greatly among the states, but a single state enacted various reform statutes at different times. Some of the more timid states in the early reform period enacted statutes that merely insulated a married woman's separate property from her husband's creditors and later gave women a greater degree of control over their own property and their own earnings.¹⁰

The great variation among the Married Women's Acts of the several states was magnified by the judicial interpretation of this legislation. Judges, many of whom were hostile to these statutes, interpreted these laws very narrowly and emphasized that the common law prevailed in all areas of the law not expressly overruled by statute.

Although the statutes varied, some of the reforms were very widespread. For example, by 1935, all non-community property states¹¹ except Georgia¹² enabled a married woman to control her own earnings. Other reforms took a longer time to gain acceptance among the various states. In 1913, at least 20 states required the assent of a husband before a wife was

⁶ This rule did not apply to cases of murder or treason or to offenses such as keeping a brothel, a crime which the law assumed would be committed by women.

⁷ See J. Johnson "Sex and Property: The Common Law Tradition, the Law School Curriculum and Development Toward Equality," 47 N.Y.U.L. Rev. 1033 (1972). Sinclair, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-91.

⁸ Blackstone, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 445.

⁹ J. Johnson, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ By making a husband the trustee of his wife's property, some states provided a married woman with the beneficial interest but not the control over her own property.

¹¹ In the eight community property states, all assets or income received by either spouse during the marriage become "community property," in which both the husband and wife have a legal interest. Until recently, most of these states provided that the husband was the exclusive manager of this property.

¹² Georgia, by statute, conferred on women the right to control her own earnings in 1961. Ga. Code Ann. §53-512.

able to convey her real property;¹³ this law was reflective of the common law belief that a husband is the guardian of his wife. As late as 1930, nine states retained this disability, and even today Alabama¹⁴ prevents a married woman from alienating her property without the assent of her husband.

¹³ This should not be confused with the situation in which a husband's signature is necessary to waive his statutory interest in the land to entitle the transferee to obtain an unencumbered title. The statutes here required the husband's assent in order for the wife to transfer her own interest.

¹⁴ See Ala. Code tit. 34 §73 (Michie, 1959).

¹⁵ "... [W]hen the right to vote . . . is denied to the male inhabitants . . . the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens. . . ." United States Constitution, amendment 14, section 2.

¹⁶ "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States." United States Constitution, amendment 14, section 1.

¹⁷ *Bradwell v. Illinois*, 83 U.S. (16 Wall.) 130 (1873).

¹⁸ This narrow interpretation of the fourteenth amendment, criticized by some as frustrating the intent of Congress to alter the balance of power among the states and the federal government, was adopted in the *Slaughter-House* cases, 83 U.S. (16 Wall.) 36 (1872), decided the day before *Bradwell*. This narrow interpretation of the privileges and immunities clause is still valid.

¹⁹ Although the majority of the Supreme Court limited itself to legal issues, Mr. Justice Joseph P. Bradley, in a concurring opinion joined by two other Justices, stated that: "... the civil law as well as nature herself, has always recognized a wide difference in the respective spheres and destinies of man and woman. Man is, or should be, woman's protector and defender. The natural and proper timidity and delicacy which belongs to the female sex evidently unfits it for many of the occupations of civil life. The constitution of the family organization which is founded in the divine ordinance as well as in the nature of things, indicates the domestic sphere as that which properly belongs to the domain and functions of womanhood. The harmony, not to say identity, of interests and views which belong, or should belong, to the family institution is repugnant to the idea of a woman adopting a distinct and independent career from that of her husband. . . . The paramount destiny and mission of a woman is to fulfill [sic] the noble and benign office of wife and mother. This is the law of the Creator." *Ibid.*, p. 141. See also *In re Lockwood*, 154 U.S. 116 (1893), in which the United States Supreme Court declared that the state of Virginia could prevent Belva Lockwood from practicing law because she was a woman.

²⁰ The most notorious female voting case of the period was the trial of the feminist leader, Susan B. Anthony. *United States v. Anthony*, 24 F. Cas. 829 (No. 14,459) (C.C.N.D.N.Y., 1873). After Anthony and 15 other women voted in New York, Anthony was arrested and charged, ironically, with violating a federal civil rights statute. Anthony's defense of her fourteenth amendment rights was dismissed by the Court. During the much publicized trial in which Anthony was refused the right to testify upon her own behalf, the judge directed a verdict of guilty. When the defense attorney objected to this clear violation of the defendant's sixth amendment right and requested a polling of the jury, the judge simply dismissed the jury. For an account of the Anthony trial, see Burham and Knight, "The United States v. Susan B. Anthony," *Ms*, November, 1972, p. 99.

²¹ *Minor v. Happersett*, 88 U.S. (21 Wall.) 163 (1874).

THE CIVIL WAR AMENDMENTS

In the nineteenth century, the woman's movement in the United States expressed vocal opposition to race as well as sex discrimination. After the Civil War, leaders of the woman's movement, who had strongly supported the Union, hoped that the Republican Congress would aid the cause of women as well as blacks. Although feminists argued that the issues of female and racial equality were analogous and that both should be treated with remedial legislation, the men in political power were not persuaded. Leaders of the women's movement failed to convince Congress to guarantee the franchise to women as well as blacks in the fifteenth amendment. And the language of the fourteenth amendment, designed to give political rights to blacks, put an explicit sex classification into the United States constitution for the first time.¹⁵

Even though the drafters of the Civil War amendments did not intend to benefit women, feminists hoped that the broad language of the privileges and immunities¹⁶ clause of the fourteenth amendment would provide constitutional protection against gender-based discrimination. When Myra Bradwell applied for admission to the Illinois bar after passing the bar examination, she was denied admission because she was a woman. She appealed to the United States Supreme Court¹⁷ and although Illinois was not represented by counsel, the nine men on the Court unanimously held that Illinois had not denied Bradwell her constitutional rights. By taking a very restrictive view of the privileges and immunities clause, the Court asserted that only privileges of federal citizenship in its national character were encompassed by the amendment:¹⁸ the right to practice law was not dependent upon citizenship and was therefore not within the protection of the fourteenth amendment.¹⁹

The *Bradwell* case was not the last attempt of women to use the fourteenth amendment as a vehicle for gaining equality. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, despite legal prohibitions, women were attempting to vote in increasing numbers.²⁰ Virginia Minor was one such woman. She was forbidden to register to vote on the grounds that Missouri law restricted the franchise to male citizens. She brought suit against the registering officer and in a decision that restricted even further the scope of the already weakened privileges and immunities clause the Supreme Court unanimously upheld the state's restriction of the franchise to male citizens. The rationale of the Court was that the right to vote in a federal election was not a right granted by the federal government.²¹

After the *Minor* case it became evident that women could not win the vote through judicial construction of the constitution. Efforts to provide voting rights to women through state legislation were also unsuc-

cessful; in 1914, only four states provided women with full voting rights.²² It was not until 1920, with the ratification of the nineteenth amendment, that women were guaranteed the right to vote.

PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the states began to enact "protective legislation" regulating the conditions and hours of workers. The Supreme Court struck down legislation providing for maximum hours for workers on the now discredited "substantive due process" grounds because the workers were denied the right to make contracts of employment.²³ In *Muller v. Oregon*, 208 U.S. 412 (1908), however, the Court sustained similar legislation applied only to women workers, asserting:

that woman's physical structure and the performance of maternal functions place her at a disadvantage is obvious . . . the two sexes differ in structure of body, in the functions to be performed by each, in the amount of physical strength, in the capacity for long continued labor, particularly when done standing, the influence of vigorous health upon the future well-being of the race, the self reliance which enables one to assert full rights and in the capacity to maintain the struggle for subsistence.²⁴

²² Although in 24 other states, women were given a limited franchise in school, municipal or bond elections, 21 jurisdictions (including the District of Columbia and the Indian territory) refused to allow women the right to vote at all. See E. Hecker, *A Short History of Woman's Rights*, 2d. ed. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974), pp. 174-235.

²³ See *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U.S. 45 (1905).

²⁴ *Muller v. Oregon*, 208 U.S. 412, 421-422. See also *Miller v. Wilson*, 236 U.S. 373 (1915). *Atkins v. Children's Hospital of the District of Columbia*, 261 U.S. 525 (1923) appeared to limit this sweeping rhetoric of *Muller*. In invalidating minimum wage legislation for women workers on freedom of contract grounds, the Court stated that "the ancient inequality of the sexes, otherwise than physical, has continued with diminishing intensity. In view of the great—not to say revolutionary—changes which have taken place since that utterance, in the contractual, political, and civil status of women, culminating in the nineteenth amendment, it is not unreasonable to say that these differences have now reached the vanishing point." *Ibid.*, pp. 522-553. The Court, however, in a decision citing *Muller*, overruled *Atkins*. *West Coast Hotel Co. v. Parrish*, 300 U.S. 370 (1937).

²⁵ See J. Kennedy, "Sex Discrimination: State Protective Laws since Title VII," 47 Notre Dame L. Rev. 514 (1972) and J. Oldham, "Sex Discrimination and State Protective Laws," 44 Denver L.J. 344 (1967). Babcock et al., *Sex Discrimination and the Law* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1975), pp. 33-37ff.

²⁶ "No state shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." United States Constitution, amendment 14, section 1.

²⁷ *Goesaert v. Cleary*, 335 U.S. 464 (1948). Michigan repealed this statute in 1955.

²⁸ *Hoyt v. Florida*, 368 U.S. 57 (1961). The Florida statute exempted women from jury duty unless they affirmatively indicated their willingness to serve. This resulted in a master jury list consisting of 10 women and 9,990 men. This case was in effect overruled in *Taylor v. Louisiana*, 95 S. Ct. 692 (1975).

After *Muller*, the enactment of "protective legislation" increased. This legislation cut with a double-edged sword; it did protect women from some of the abuses of the early twentieth century industrial system, but more often it had precisely the opposite effect. Some protective legislation served to exclude women from certain occupations; for example, some states enacted laws that restricted the amount of poundage women could lift, thus rendering them ineligible for certain jobs; other state statutes expressly prohibited women from engaging in certain occupations, such as mining or bartending. Even the protective laws regulating minimum wages and hours for women workers ironically resulted in fewer employment opportunities for women. In Ohio, the employment of women declined more than 14 percent after a minimum wage law was passed. In Brooklyn, over 700 female subway workers lost their jobs because these employees were unable to work in both the morning and evening rush hours when the legislature prohibited women from working in split shifts. Thus, the "protective legislation" often made it more difficult for female workers to compete with male employees in the job market.²⁵

THE EQUAL PROTECTION CLAUSE

Protective legislation was challenged unsuccessfully in the United States Supreme Court under the equal protection clause²⁶ which provides that all persons similarly situated should be similarly treated. If the Court could devise a rational basis for the legislation, the statute was upheld under the equal protection clause. Michigan enacted a law prohibiting a woman from becoming a bartender unless the woman was the spouse or the child of a male owner of the bar. Barmaids, whose livelihood was destroyed by the statute, challenged the law, but the Supreme Court sustained the legislation on the grounds that there was a rational basis in the state's belief that bartending by women produces "social and moral" problems; the Court believed that these hazards could be minimized by a father's or husband's oversight.²⁷ The Court, however, did not specify the social and moral problems.

The first challenges under the equal protection clause in sex discrimination cases were ineffective. The Court, in interpreting that clause, paid great deference to the state legislatures. As recently as 1961, the Supreme Court, in the face of an equal protection challenge, upheld a Florida statute that resulted in a virtually all male jury system.²⁸

The state courts explicitly upheld gender-based classifications against equal protection attacks on the "rational" legislative belief in male supremacy and the need to protect the "weaker sex." For example, as recently as ten years ago, the Mississippi Supreme

Court upheld an exclusion of women from jury service on the grounds that:

the legislature has the right to exclude women so long as they may continue their service as mothers, wives and homemakers and also to protect them [in some areas they are still on a pedestal] from the filth, obscenity and noxious atmosphere that so often pervades a courtroom during a jury trial.²⁹

An Oregon court, sustaining a state statute forbidding women from participation in wrestling competitions, declared that the legislature's rational intent was:

that there should be at least one island on the sea of life reserved for man that would be impregnable to the assault of woman. . . . She had already invaded practically every activity formerly considered suitable and appropriate for men only. . . . In these circumstances, is it any wonder that the legislative assembly took advantage . . . to halt this ever increasing feminine encroachment upon what for ages had been considered strictly manly arts and privileges? Was the Act an unjust and unconstitutional deprivation against woman? Were her civil or political rights unconstitutionally denied her? Under the circumstances we think not.³⁰

Although the courts were sustaining gender-based legislation challenged under the equal protection clause by using a very lenient "rational basis" test, when the classification was based on race, alienage or nationality, the Court used a stricter standard of review. When distinctions were based on these "suspect" classifications, the Court invalidated the law unless the state could demonstrate a compelling interest for the enactment and show it had no reasonable alternative to further that interest. The standard of review used by the Court often determined the outcome. Many statutes would have been declared constitutional if a "rational basis" test were used; yet they were found to violate the equal protection clause when the "compelling state interest" standard was applied.

In the 1970's the Supreme Court began looking at gender-based classifications more carefully. In *Reed v. Reed*, 404 U.S. 71 (1971), the Court invalidated an Idaho statute that gave mandatory preference to the male parent seeking to administer a deceased child's estate on the grounds that the sex classification violated the Equal Protection Clause. Although the Court purported to use the lenient "rational basis" test, the admittedly legitimate state interest in

reducing the workload of the probate courts was insufficient to save the statute. Although unarticulated, the Court adopted a middle standard between the "rational basis" and the "compelling state interest" tests and used this middle standard to invalidate a statute for the first time on the grounds of an impermissible sex classification.

Two years later, in *Frontiero v. Richardson*, 411 U.S. 677 (1973), four of the nine justices declared sex to be a suspect classification and applied the "compelling state interest" standard to invalidate a law that made it more difficult for a female airforce officer to obtain housing and medical benefits for her spouse than a male officer.

Subsequent Court decisions have revealed, however, that a majority of the Court is not willing to treat sex as a suspect classification justifying a strict standard of review. The Court is currently using the modified approach of *Reed*. If the gender-based classification results in a benefit to women, the statute is more likely to be upheld than if it disadvantages the female sex. For example, Florida's \$500 property tax exemption for widows was upheld against a constitutional challenge from a widower in *Kahn v. Shavin*, 416 U.S. 351 (1974), since the state has a legitimate interest in remedying the effects of employment discrimination; the state can "cushion the financial impact of spousal loss upon that sex for whom that loss imposes a disproportionate heavy burden."³¹ Similarly, a male officer was unsuccessful in challenging a law exempting women with less than 13 years of service from mandatory discharge if they had not been promoted to higher rank. The Court emphasized that the sexes were not similarly treated in the military, i.e., women could not be assigned to combat missions, and it sustained mandatory discharge policies with gender-based distinctions.³²

Using the *Reed* approach, the modern Court has also struck down statutes that discriminate against women. In *Weinberger v. Weisenfeld*, 95 S. Ct. 1225 (1975), the Supreme Court invalidated a provision of the Social Security laws that denied benefits to a surviving male spouse of a deceased worker with minor children. Although the surviving husband was the person affected by the statute, the Court treated the case as one involving a discrimination against women. Since the female worker could not obtain the same insurance benefits for her family under the Social Security laws as could a male employee, the Court held that the statute invidiously discriminated against women. In *Stanton v. Stanton*, 95 S. Ct. 1373

(Continued on page 230)

²⁹ *State v. Hall*, 187 So. 2d 861 (Miss.) app. dismissed 385 U.S. 98 (1966).

³⁰ *State v. Hunter*, 208 Ore. 282, 300 P. 2d 455, 458 (1956). Although this statute remains in the Oregon Code, it probably is no longer good law in light of Title VII, discussed *infra*.

³¹ *Kahn v. Shevin*, 416 U.S. 351, 355 (1974).

³² *Schlesinger v. Ballard*, 95 S. Ct. 572 (1975).

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“... although American women have not yet achieved parity with men in federal, state, or local politics, they have made notable progress during the past decade.”

Women's Political Role

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THE POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMEN in American society has evolved very slowly over the past 200 years. To a great extent, this process has mirrored the glacial pace of change in the social and economic status of women in our society. But in some respects it has also served to inhibit social and economic change. In a narrow sense, political status is defined by a person's right to participate in the political process, as a voter or as an officeholder. What is mandated or permitted by law, however, does not always describe what people actually do, either in politics, social life or economics, and this gap between the legal definitions and the reality of women's political status has often been large.

John Stuart Mill once asked, why, if women were naturally subordinate, laws were needed to keep them so.¹ In the case of the suffrage laws of colonial North America, nature apparently took its course; almost without exception, the statutes of the various colonies contained no reference to sex as a criterion for eligibility to vote.² One might conclude that colonial women did not need legal reminders to insure that they maintained their proper role in society. In fact, it is doubtful that the matter was left so open to chance. The combination of suffrage qualifications based on property ownership and the legal and customary barriers to the ownership of property by women effectively barred women from the exercise of the franchise.

¹ John S. Mill, "The Subjection of Women," in A. S. Rossi, ed., *Essays on Sex Equality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

² Jerrold G. Rusk, and John J. Stucker, "An Historical Review of Suffrage Legislation in the United States," in W. D. Burnham et al., eds., *Behavioral Guide to the Study of American Electoral History* (Cambridge: MIT Press, forthcoming).

³ Among the writers who have written on this subject are: W. D. Burnham, *Critical Elections and the Main Springs of American Politics* (New York: Norton, 1970); Richard J. Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888-1896* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971); and Paul J. Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850-1900* (New York: The Free Press, 1970).

In the decades after independence, electoral qualifications based on wealth and property ownership gradually disappeared, but the thrust of the new egalitarianism was not unlimited. The Declaration of Independence noted that "all men were created equal," and this gender distinction became the cornerstone for the suffrage qualifications adopted by the states of the new republic; one by one, states inserted the term "male" into definitions of an eligible elector.

The first tiny crack in the wall of legal barriers to political participation by women came in 1838, when Kentucky granted limited suffrage rights to women in school elections. Kansas followed suit in 1861, and in the next half century almost half the states extended some form of suffrage on school issues to women. But it is questionable whether these changes advanced the political status of women, since the extension of suffrage rights in school elections did not really provide women with a political role in society. Rather, their participation in the political process was apparently simply an extension of their traditional responsibilities of motherhood and child-rearing.

The notion that women's participation in the political process was to be kept to a minimum was reinforced by the laws which granted school suffrage only to women who became widows. Presumably in these states, women whose husbands were still active electors could transmit their concerns to the public education system by asking their husbands to exercise their right to vote.

Beyond the symbolism involved, the adoption of school suffrage had important negative consequences for the achievement of mature political status for women. For one thing, the experiential element in school suffrage could hardly be expected to advance the politicization of American women. A number of scholars have argued that local politics in the nineteenth century generated far more interest and participation on the part of the citizenry than has been the case in the mid-twentieth century.³ While there is evidence to substantiate their arguments, it is hard

to conceive that this partial suffrage grant had the same politicizing effect on women as a full grant of suffrage rights.

In women's struggle to obtain full legal status as political persons in American society, the first major breakthrough came in 1869, when Wyoming was established as a territory with a proviso in its constitution guaranteeing equal suffrage rights for all adults. This principle of universal suffrage was preserved in its first state constitution when Wyoming entered the Union in 1890; this was the first time a state had granted women the right to vote in all elections—national, state, and local. By 1900, three more states opened the polling booth completely to women, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah, but during the 1910's the process of change was at a standstill.

After a decade in which there was no further progress, the suffragettes successfully joined the principles of their movement with the ideals of the Progressives. Subsequently, in the decade between 1910 and 1920 almost a dozen states granted full voting rights to women; furthermore, 12 other states granted women the right to vote in presidential elections. In 1919, the United States Congress proposed an amendment that would prohibit the denial of the right to vote on the basis of sex, and by August, 1920, ratification was achieved by the necessary 36 states—the nineteenth amendment to the U.S. constitution was law.

The nineteenth century was a period marked by the struggle to achieve a legally defined basis for women's political status; the important story of the twentieth century was the nature of women's response to the political rights they won just over a half century ago. While the patterns varied from country to country, the initial response of women in most western democracies was apparently somewhat less than the suffragettes had hoped. Reporting data from several West European nations, Herbert Tingsten noted that wom-

en were 10 to 15 percentage points behind in voter turnout than men in countries like Finland, Germany, Norway, and Sweden; in one country, Iceland, the differential was as high as 25 points.⁴

Because registers and vote tally sheets were not recorded separately for men and women in the United States except for a few localities, Tingsten was unable to report results for this country. The available evidence suggests, however, that the differential was also large on this side of the Atlantic. Citing data from Chicago and New York City, William Chafe noted that in the early 1920's men were outvoting women by two to one in general and municipal elections.⁵ This phenomenon does not seem to have been an artifact of these two cities or of the 1920's. Research on both presidential and off-year congressional turnout patterns throughout the United States reveals that, regardless of when full suffrage rights were extended, average turnout across the states declined by approximately 10 percentage points after women were enfranchised.⁶

While all this suggests a level of participation higher than the level that was characteristic of women when they enjoyed only school suffrage, it is clear that many women failed to take advantage of their new political rights. There were several reasons for this. First, there was the problem of logistics. Since the nineteenth amendment was not ratified until August, 1920, local election officials in many states had only three months to register women and make arrangements for ballots and polling stations. Harold Gosnell reports that in three states the necessary legislation was not enacted in time to permit women to register to vote in the 1920 general election.⁷

A second factor involved race. While women were finally achieving success in their struggle for political equality, in the Southern states a countervailing process was unfolding to withdraw the suffrage gains won earlier by black men. This effort to disenfranchise blacks began with a variety of extralegal actions directed against blacks during the 1880's.⁸ During the 1890's, the process accelerated, and a variety of restrictive suffrage qualifications were incorporated into the revised election codes that were adopted in state after state throughout the South.⁹ As a result, when the nineteenth amendment was passed some two decades later, it was essentially inapplicable to black women in the Southern United States.

A third reason for this low initial rate of participation involved a learning process.¹⁰ Like any behavior, consistent voting must become a pattern of habit, and developing habits take time. When one is first confronted with the legal opportunity to vote, the nature of one's response is likely to be influenced by external rather than internal cues. In this context, many women probably felt strong inhibitions against voting when their first opportunity came.

⁴ Herbert Tingsten, *Political Behavior* (London: P. S. King and Sons, 1937).

⁵ William H. Chafe, *The American Woman; Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles, 1920-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

⁶ John J. Stucker, *The Impact of Woman Suffrage on Patterns of Voter Participation in the United States; Quasi-Experimental and Real-Time Analyses, 1890-1920* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1973).

⁷ Harold F. Gosnell, *Why Europe Votes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), appendix 3.

⁸ V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics* (New York: Knopf, 1949); and C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955).

⁹ Jerrold G. Rusk, and John J. Stucker, "The Effect of the Southern System of Election Laws on Voter Participation: A Reply to V. O. Key," in Joel Silbey et al., eds., *The History of Popular Voting Behavior in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, forthcoming).

¹⁰ See William N. McPhee, and Robert A. Smith, "A Model Analyzing Voting Systems," in W. N. McPhee, and W. A. Glaser, eds., *Public Opinion and Congressional Elections* (New York: The Free Press, 1962).

TABLE 1. Sex Differences in Voting in Presidential Elections, 1948–1972

	1948	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1972
Male Turnout	69	72	80	80	73	76	76
Female Turnout	56	62	69	69	70	73	70

Source: Marjorie Lansing, "The American Woman: Voter and Activist," in J. S. Jaquette, ed., *Women in Politics* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974).

TABLE 2: Sex Differences in 1972 Presidential Voting Rates, by Age Cohort

	18–20	21–24	25–29	30–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65–74	75+
Male	47.7	49.7	57.6	62.1	65.9	72.0	72.4	73.2	65.9
Female	48.8	51.7	58.9	61.7	66.7	69.9	69.2	64.3	49.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Report, Population Characteristics, P. 20, No. 253 (October, 1973), Table 1.

The dominant societal norms and customs had emphasized that women's role was domestic and not political; in addition, the lack of prior opportunities to vote (discounting the school suffrage) meant that there was no obvious role model upon which women could pattern their behavior.

However, in at least one section of the country, the western states, the social norms described above apparently did not keep women from the ballot box. The decline in turnout with the advent of woman suffrage was negligible in these states. This pattern is not particularly surprising because this was the "woman suffrage" region of the country. Except for Kansas and New York, all the states in which women exercised full voting rights prior to the general election of 1920 were located in the West, a fact that suggests that the social norms of this region did not emphasize the primacy of woman's domestic role. The exigencies of life in frontier society made it imperative for women to participate both socially and economically in the life of the community. Thus, when the principle was extended to the political arena, the legitimacy of women's active community involvement had already been established.

A study of women's long-term response to suffrage reveals a gradual maturation of women as political persons and a corresponding increase in their rate of electoral participation as older women gradually leave the population. As noted earlier, there is little systematic evidence of different male and female voting rates in the first half of the twentieth century; however, in the post World War II period these differences were apparent. Thus, in 1948, women were still substantially less likely to vote than men; however, in the ensuing years the gap has gradually narrowed as women have steadily increased their rate of voting. (See Table 1.)

Table 2 shows the turnout rates for different age groups of men and women in the 1972 presidential election. The oldest age cohort (those 75 years of age and older), women who came of legal age prior to the final adoption of woman suffrage nationwide in 1920, show the lowest rate of participation relative to men of the same age. The next oldest group of women (65 to 74 years old) came of age during the decade of the 1920's. The 15 percentage point jump in the turnout rate over the oldest group of women suggests the powerful impact of socialization when the political equality of women was finally sanctioned in law.

The next shift in the political maturation of women was apparently a response to the effects of the Franklin D. Roosevelt era, when the administration made a conscious effort to appeal for the support of women.¹¹ The emphasis on domestic policy issues during the first half of his tenure led Franklin Roosevelt to consult with and employ numerous women in his administration, including Labor Secretary Frances Perkins, the first woman Cabinet member. Throughout the 1930's and 1940's, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt took advantage of every opportunity to involve women in both government and party affairs. The group of women (ages 35 to 54) who entered the electoral process during this period shows the effect of these activities. In this age group, the gap between men and women closed still further. The final step in the maturation process was achieved after World War II; the voting behavior of women who came of age after 1949 (age 18 to 44) is virtually indistinguishable from men.

How did this history affect women's involvement in professional political roles? It is a commonplace observation that political status (whether it involves equality or inequality) cannot be separated from social and economic factors. In fact, it can be argued that the socioeconomic self-image of women may be the single most important determinant of their propensity to engage in professional political roles.¹² According to this line of reasoning, until women develop an economic identity which is separate from but equal to that of their mates, until they

¹¹ Chafe, *op. cit.*

¹² Judith Stiehm, and Ruth Scott, "Female and Male Voluntary and Chosen Participation, Sex, SES and Participation," a paper presented at the 1974 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, (Chicago, Illinois, August 29–September 2, 1974).

develop their own career expectations and begin to compete with men for economic roles in society including politics as an alternative career path, women will not share on equal terms with men in professional roles in the political life of our society.

While the effects of socioeconomic and career orientation factors cannot be discounted, women's history as voters has also affected their professional involvement in politics. Clearly, women as a group were not likely to become political activists until they had established a solid habit of participation in that most fundamental act of political participation—voting. But indirect effects also flowed from women's performance as voters during the first half of this century.

In the flush of victory that followed the adoption of the nineteenth amendment some advanced elements of the women's movement pushed for the development of a woman's political party. Prospects for such a party organization were quickly scuttled, however, by the disappointing performance of women at the polls.

This low rate of participation among women also led many male leaders of the established parties to conclude that women were not an effective electoral group, and that their more radical demands for reform could be ignored. As a result, the League of Women Voters, emphasizing its role as a non-partisan and non-office-seeking group, became the dominant voice of women in public affairs and called on women to concentrate their energies on social welfare and education, issues of unique concern to women.

Once again, woman's political role was defined as an extension of her domestic responsibilities; as was the case a century earlier with respect to school suffrage, this orientation eventually trapped women as it became institutionalized in the phenomenon known as "volunteerism." A variety of community organizations similar to the League developed across the country—parent-teacher groups, hospital auxiliaries, and the like—and uniformly the emphasis of the organizations was on service-oriented roles that were person- or situation-directed.

Either because society was unwilling to pay or because it had convinced a group of persons to surrender their services to the community without compensation, women came to be relied upon to do "the work which would otherwise not get done." The result was that the same type of inequality that characterized the social and economic relationships between men and women became institutionalized in the political system, with women filling auxiliary roles in the political process.

* For the ERA text, see footnote 38, p. 230 of this issue.

¹³ Eugenie Bolger, "Take It Out of My Salary," *Ms.* (February, 1975), pp. 71-74.

WOMEN IN THE 1960's

During the decade of the 1960's there was a striking reversal in this trend. Increasing numbers of women began to recognize that the volunteer activities to which they devoted themselves were treating the symptoms of social problems instead of bringing about the structural changes in society that could solve these problems. Furthermore, they realized that this type of community involvement only served to perpetuate their own second-class status.¹³ As a consequence, women sought greater involvement in the mainstream of American political activity.

Characteristic of this shift in emphasis was the participation by large numbers of women in the anti-war and the new politics movements of the late 1960's and early 1970's. But this change was also reflected in the actions of the more traditional women's groups. Beginning in the late 1960's, the League of Women Voters expanded its "legislative-action" program to include such issue areas as energy policy and the environmental dimensions of coastal zone management policies.

A far more significant thrust of this new feminism, however, was focused on the use of political and legal channels to improve the individual status of women in American society. It was obvious that in a wide range of practices and procedures both public and private institutions treated persons differently solely because of differences in gender. Organizations like the National Organization of Women and the Women's Equity Action League concluded that by identifying and challenging these practices, they could eliminate them; this, in turn, would enable individual women to improve both their socioeconomic and their political status. In the effort to banish these artifacts of sex discrimination, women's groups moved forward on a broad front, seeking legislative action by the United States Congress and state legislatures on the one hand and bringing challenges through civil courts and administrative agencies on the other.

The most substantial effort in this direction has been the struggle for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)* to the United States Constitution. The strategic objective of this effort is clear: the adoption of the ERA would establish a broad

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"In addition to job segregation in the labor market, there is another fundamental division of labor between women and men; women are still responsible for child care and for housework. This is clearly of direct benefit to men, who by and large do not have to do this work. The ideology of the feminine mystique—that women's place is at home—helps to perpetuate this double burden for women."

Women's Work in the United States

By HEIDI I. HARTMANN

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WOMEN HAVE always worked in the United States, and their work has been crucial to the development of the American economy. Like men, women have worked in and out of the home to provide food, clothing, shelter, and other necessities for their families and themselves. Unlike men, however, women have been the bearers and principal rearers of children, and this close tie to the needs of children has shaped their participation in economic production outside the home.

With most economic production removed from the home, families have generally relied for their cash income on men working for wages outside the home, and women's primary role has been caring for children and taking care of the home and the wage earners. Caring for children is, of course, of basic importance to the economy, but it is a task that is

requiring fewer and fewer of a woman's productive years. Especially since World War II, many married women have entered the wage labor force, a phenomenon that challenges the notion that males are the primary breadwinners.¹ In addition to their wage work and their housework, women have always contributed a substantial amount of volunteer work.

Several important aspects of women's work merit attention. First, women and men have usually had different jobs, and women's jobs have generally involved lower status and lower pay. In the United States, for example, most doctors are men and most nurses are women, and a woman worker earns on average about 60 percent of a man's wage. A woman's work outside the home has generally been consonant with her role inside the home; "women's jobs" are often nurturant or supportive, or concern young children or education, or are boring and repetitive (like most housework).² Even in a family enterprise, like a farm, there is usually a division of labor; men do one set of chores, like field work, and women do another, like gardening and household chores.

Throughout our history, men have usually had more advantages than women, politically, socially and economically, enjoying more leisure and more luxuries. It is clear that men have enjoyed a higher standard and a higher level of living than women, and this is true even though most men and women have lived together in families.³ The different economic positions of women and men mean that women and men often have different needs and interests; conflicts between men and women have often resulted.⁴

Another important aspect of women's work is that women of different social backgrounds have different work experiences. There are "women's jobs" and "men's jobs," but women's jobs have varied according to the social position of the women who hold them.

¹ Carolyn Shaw Bell, in "Working Women's Contribution to Family Income," *Eastern Economic Journal*, vol. 1 (April-July, 1974), pp. 185-201, argues that the contribution of a wife's earnings to the family income is much greater than the misleading average figure of 27 percent that is often cited. Neither is it true that, as is commonly believed, most families derive their income entirely from the earnings of the male head.

² Harold Willensky, "Women's Work: Economic Growth, Ideology, Structure," *Industrial Relations*, vol. 7 (May, 1968), describes the relationship between women's work in the labor market and their traditional roles.

³ Laura Oren, in "The Welfare of Women in Laboring Families: England, 1860-1950," *Feminist Studies*, vol. 1 (Winter-Spring, 1973), notes that with regard to the English family, within working class families women have less food, less leisure, and less pocket money. I would think the same could be said for the American family. Thorstein Veblen, in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: New American Library, 1953), argued convincingly that the leisure and luxury observed of women in the upper classes are more apparent than real: the women can take no pleasure in the leisure since it is required of them.

⁴ Heidi Irmgard Hartmann, "Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex," *Signs*, vol. 1 (Spring, 1976), discusses these conflicts in more detail.

These economic differences among women have often been the source of tensions in women's organizations. The issue of legislation provides one example. To guard against exploitation, working class women often wanted protective labor legislation that limited the hours they could work;⁵ middle class women often fought against this legislation to prevent women from being considered a "weaker sex" and to allow them to compete on equal terms with men. Women have often seen themselves relative to the men in their social class. Thus, women married to professionals often want the same access to professional job satisfaction that their husbands enjoy, while women married to factory workers often prefer to be at home rather than to take dehumanizing jobs in factories. This economic differentiation among women also means that women at the bottom of the economic ladder suffer from double oppression: race and/class as well as sex discrimination.

It is important to keep in mind that women have participated in all major movements for social change. Their concerns have often stemmed from their economic position in and outside the family. Beginning with religious freedom, through abolition, temperance, and women's suffrage in the nineteenth century, socialism, black civil rights, the antiwar movement, and women's liberation in the twentieth century, and workers' struggles and "consumer" resistance (food riots, anti-sales tax demonstrations, welfare rights, and so on), women, no less than men, have organized to protect their rights and advance their claims on a society not always eager to grant them.

The history of women's work in America can be divided roughly into four chronological periods corresponding to basic changes in the United States economy. Let us look at each of these periods of women's work in more detail.

COLONIAL WOMEN

In the colonial period, women at home produced a large variety of necessities that were not otherwise available in the new country. Women spun yarn, wove cloth, made soap, candles, shoes, stockings, and clothing in addition to gardening, tending animals, providing meals, and bearing and raising a large number of children (nine pregnancies during a lifetime was typical). In this initial period of settle-

ment, women were recognized as essential economic participants.

The promoters of the Virginia colony realized that without women and families the first men settlers would lack both the motivation for hard work and the comforts of family life; the colony's promoters therefore imported women to become wives. But the conditions in the early settlements were extremely harsh and women, perhaps more self-sacrificing, perhaps more exploited, died at rapid rates. Of the 101 original passengers on the Mayflower, 18 were married women; after the first winter, all but four had died. Even as the population grew, through natural increase, immigration, and the slave trade, women remained in somewhat short supply and were apparently highly valued: ads in colonial newspapers for runaway wives often offered sizable rewards. Under the English common law in use in the colonies, married women had "no legal entity or existence apart from their husbands."⁶ Thus their economic indispensability did not directly enhance their legal rights.

Nevertheless, a frontier society always short of labor accorded women a variety of economic opportunities. As the economy developed, women (especially widows) kept inns, published books and newspapers, managed retail businesses, and became seamstresses and milliners. Many women came to the colonies as indentured servants and worked as domestic servants during their period of bondage. After their bondage, they would perhaps become wives with homes of their own or become wage earners. The black women who came against their will as slaves had no such future.

In the colonies, hard work was the rule, not the exception. Idleness was a sin. With much to make at home to meet their own needs, women and children also sold some products to provide cash incomes for their families. Merchants began to organize this home labor, providing the raw materials and arranging for the sale of the products in the towns. Domestic production and trade increased, but the colonists were still dependent on imports for many of their needs.

Alexander Hamilton and other leaders interested in promoting American manufactures sought to utilize the labor of women and children more systematically.⁷ With the increase in the demand for textiles in the late 1700's, they had their golden opportunity, because most women were familiar with the arts of spinning and weaving. The early textile factories, established after 1789, employed primarily the daughters of New England farm families. By 1811, the textile mills employed 3,500 women and children and 500 men.⁸ That the factories employed few able-bodied adult men was in their favor, since it was important that the factories should not remove labor from agriculture, the primary economic activity of

⁵ And as suggested above, male unionists supported protective legislation, perhaps to eliminate female competition.

⁶ Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), p. 7. This account relies both on Flexner and on Edith Abbott, *Women in Industry* (New York: Arno Press, 1969).

⁷ Elizabeth F. Baker, *Technology and Women's Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), chapter 1, discusses Alexander Hamilton's reports on manufactures.

⁸ Edith Abbott, "The History of Industrial Employment of Women in the United States: An Introductory Study," *Journal of Political Economy* (October, 1906), p. 484.

the nation. It was also regarded as a plus that this system, wherein the mills provided rooming houses for the young female workers, would prevent the formation of an industrial proletariat of reduced circumstances, like the proletariat created in England. America's first factory workers were the daughters of hardy yeoman stock, and without them industrial development would have taken a different form.

Of course, after 1840, when the nation began to industrialize in earnest, an industrial proletariat, largely peopled by immigrants, did emerge. By 1850, the textile industry alone employed 92,000 workers, two-thirds of them women.⁹ Between 1840 and 1860, Irish and French-Canadian immigrant women, many of them married, entered the mills and displaced the single native Yankee women. Subsequently, canals and railroads were built, minerals like coal, gas, and oil were exploited, and iron, steel, machine tools, agricultural equipment, and consumer goods were manufactured. Thus industrial production increased more than tenfold between 1850 and 1900. Women worked in the sewing trades and laundries; they helped produce textiles and knit goods, boots and shoes and cigars; they toiled in printing plants and paper mills. The number of women wage workers in manufacturing increased from 226,000 in 1850 to 1,313,000 in 1900.¹⁰

Many female industrial workers were immigrants. Some of them were married. Native-born white women of the middle classes entered new occupations. Before, during, and after the Civil War, teaching became a female profession. Nursing and social work gained professional status, but much volunteer work continued in these fields as well. The settlement houses, like Jane Addams's Hull House, were of major importance in ameliorating the severe dislocating effects of industrialization. In the middle class, only single women could participate in the new professions; careers outside the home were incompatible with the demands of housework.

The work of married women at home was being upgraded, however, as science began to be applied to housework. Catharine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *The American Woman's Home* (1869) instructed women in the practice of efficient homemaking, but there were few technical advances in household equipment in the nineteenth century. Though kitchen gadgetry abounded, especially after the Civil War, the well-equipped kitchen apparently required only standard pots, pans, and baking tins.

In what was probably the major technological improvement by the turn of the twentieth century, the iron stove replaced the fireplace for cooking in most homes.¹¹ Women of the new bourgeoisie were supposed to know the arts of graceful living, fashionable attire and manners. The cult of the lady never disappeared, even as industrial working women, career women, and scientific homemakers grew in numbers. The impact of the feminist movement, begun in 1848 at Seneca Falls, was felt as women began to organize. Women industrial workers, who had formed workingwomen's societies as early as the 1830's in New England, participated in attempts at national unions in the 1860's and 1870's and in the Knights of Labor in the 1880's. The Knights hired the first woman investigator of female working conditions, Leonora Barry. The American Federation of Labor, the leading craft union organization, appointed a woman organizer, Mary E. Kenney, for five months in 1892. Nonetheless, women unionists were often discouraged, because male unionists refused to treat them as equal union members. Some women scabbed because only in that way could they get the training they needed.¹²

Still, in the nineteenth century, the vast majority of workers, women and men, were untouched by the union movement. After the failure of the National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor, labor organizations like the American Federation of Labor (AFL) concentrated on organizing skilled workers, to the exclusion of women and other unskilled workers. Thus, women who entered the wage labor force had little protection. Among professional women, including home economists, associations were organized before the turn of the twentieth century.

Education for women expanded during the nineteenth century, too, with the founding of several women's and coeducational colleges, and the entrance of more girls to high schools. Changes in women's legal status occurred as women gained the right to hold property, retain earnings and make contracts, and as marriage was reformed to reflect a companionship of equals.

By the turn of the century, huge urban working class districts had been formed, where families lived in crowded conditions with poor ventilation and worse sanitation facilities. At the same time, as trolleys and trains made them possible, suburbs for the new middle classes grew. Yet urban as the new environment was, rural conditions continued. In the 1890's, cows and goats were seen along the East River as far south as 42d Street in Manhattan, and Brooklyn and Queens were still semi-rural. Beecher and Stowe's homemaking text of 1869 contained several chapters on gardening and tending animals. Urban families grew many of their own vegetables as late as the 1880's and 1890's.¹³ But in the twentieth cen-

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 488.

¹¹ Susan Strasser, unpublished manuscript on housework in the nineteenth century, Evergreen State College, 1975.

¹² Flexner, *op. cit.*, esp. chapters 9 and 14.

¹³ Robert W. Smuts, *Women and Work in America* (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), p. 12.

tury, families became much more dependent on cash incomes as their ability to rely on home production continued to decline.

AFTER 1900

The third period of change in women's work, after 1900, began with a surge of immigration; over 13 million immigrants, primarily from southern and eastern Europe, arrived between 1900 and 1914, constituting over half of the nation's population increase for that period. The immigrants peopled the factories, providing unskilled labor for the rapid adoption of such mass production techniques as assembly lines. The labor force grew from 10 million in 1900 to 50 million in 1930, and women workers increased from 5 million to 10 million. Immigrant women provided the labor for the garment industry in New York City and elsewhere and for seasonal agricultural-related work, like canning and other food processing.

Few women who worked outside the home were married. Married women generally worked at home, making artificial flowers, sewing buttons on cards or trim on clothing, in addition to their housework chores. Some did janitorial work in their tenement buildings; others kept boarders and lodgers. Working class native-born women often did similar work. Taking all these types of work together, perhaps one-third of married women in the working class brought in some cash income.¹⁴

A significant number of black families moved North during this period in response to an increase in demand for labor both before and during World War I. Some manufacturers, notably Henry Ford, used blacks as strikebreakers. Blacks swelled the ranks of the urban proletariat, suffering discrimination in employment, wages, housing, health care, and education. Until very recently, black women in the North and in the South were largely confined to employment as domestic servants. In fact, of all black women wage workers, the proportion of those who worked in domestic service increased from 42 percent in 1900 to 55 percent in 1930.¹⁵

During this period, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) began to organize unskilled workers; many women participated in strikes led by the IWW in the textile mills of New England in 1912. The AFL's International Ladies' Garment Workers Union began to organize the vast number of women in the

needle trades in New York City in 1909-1910, although the union remained dominated by the skilled males in the trade. The tragic Triangle Fire in New York City in 1911, which killed 146 young women shirtmakers because the fire exits were locked, was a tremendous spur to organization. By 1920, the ILGWU had almost 100,000 members. During this period, the Women's Trade Union League, founded by reformers and working class women, attempted to aid women in their efforts to unionize.¹⁶ The period just before the first World War saw tremendous ferment in the labor movement and in other social movements as well. In 1912, the Socialist party candidate for president, Eugene Debs, polled nearly one million votes.

After World War I, with the return to normalcy promised by President Warren Harding, women were excluded by protective labor legislation from the jobs they had held during the war. The male-led AFL unions fought for this legislation because they wanted to reduce competition from women (they also fought for [and won] restrictions on immigration). Women were excluded from such occupations as meter reading, street car conducting, taxi driving, core-making, elevator operating; they were also excluded from night work and overtime, which effectively eliminated them from fields like printing. While the maximum hours laws, in particular, might have protected women in the sweated trades, they also repulsed the vanguard of women who had been entering "men's jobs."

While single women of the laboring classes worked primarily in factories, single women of the middle classes were entering clerical and sales work in ever increasing numbers. From 1900 to 1930, the number of female clerical workers increased from 200,000 to 2 million, or ten times, reaching about half the total clerical work force by 1930. (Today, more than 70 percent of all clerical workers are women.)

Throughout this period, working conditions at home for married women in the middle classes continued to improve. Family size was decreasing and the number of child-raising years was declining. The interiors of houses became less ornate; kitchens became better planned, with continuous work surfaces. Electric lighting, running hot water and central heating made work cleaner and less arduous. A host of products became available for the home: vacuum cleaners, washing machines, ready-made clothing, and packaged and canned foods. Scientific management, which had streamlined production in factories and offices, was applied to the home, occasionally to extremes. (It was discovered, for instance, that the woman who could develop a method that cut the time of preparing carrots by one-fifth could save 5 hours over a year if she served carrots twice a week.) But by and large, the domestic science movement

¹⁴ See Louise C. Odencrantz, *Italian Women in Industry* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1919), G. S. Hughes, *Mothers in Industry* (New York: Republic, 1925), and B. M. Nienburg, *The Woman Home-Maker in the City*, U.S. Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923).

¹⁵ George C. Stigler, *Domestic Servants in the United States, 1900-1940* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1946), p. 7.

¹⁶ Eleanor Flexner, *op. cit.*, esp. chapter 18.

called attention to an area of women's work in need of much improvement. As the traditional tasks of housework, cooking, washing up, and cleaning were being lightened, other tasks grew in importance. Taking care of the family's mental health and understanding child psychology and development became important tasks for the homemaker, in addition to the planning, budgeting, and purchasing work that was also increasing.¹⁷

By the end of the 1920's, home improvements and changes in the concept of housework had spread to working class families. The work of middle class and working class housewives probably grew more similar as fewer and fewer families at the upper end could afford paid domestic servants and more and more families at the lower end could afford the new equipment. Differences in time spent on housework do not appear to be related to class differences; rather, family composition, particularly the number and ages of children, is the crucial variable. Younger children require much more time than older children.

The depression of the 1930's probably caused an increase in the time spent on the more traditional tasks of housework, like food preparation, as activities like bread baking and canning returned to the home. Laundry, once largely industrialized, had been moving back into the home since the rapid introduction of the home washing machine in the 1920's. Refrigerators, which contributed to the more economical storage and use of food, sold well in the depression years despite the high initial investment. But despite all the conveniences introduced in the twentieth century, time spent on housework has not decreased; the distribution of the time spent on the various tasks has changed somewhat, but even these changes are slight.¹⁸ Most housework has, after all, remained in the home and is likely to continue to do so as long as families and individuals live in separate dwelling units.

In the post-World War II period, the low birth rate of the depression, the dislocation of the war, and the depressed levels of household formation apparently contributed to a return to "normal" family life.

¹⁷ Hartmann, *Capitalism and Women's Work*, esp. chapter 3.

¹⁸ Joanne Vanek, "Time Spent in Housework," *Scientific American*, vol. 231 (November, 1974), pp. 115-120.

¹⁹ Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Norton, 1963).

²⁰ John K. Galbraith, *Economics and the Public Purpose* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973).

²¹ Francine D. Blau, "Women in the Labor Force: The Situation at Present," in Ann Yates and Shirley Harken, eds., *Women and Their Work* (Palo Alto: Mayfield, forthcoming) provides an excellent overview of women in the labor market.

²² Edward Gross in "Plus Ça Change . . . ? The Sexual Structure of Occupations Over Time," *Social Problems*, vol. 16 (Fall, 1968), pp. 198-208, applied this slogan to women's work.

A residential housing boom, coupled with a durables surge, made the one-family home with its wife, children and modern equipment the ideal. The birth rate soared in the 1950's; soon afterward Betty Friedan wrote *The Feminine Mystique*. Where had all the feminists gone? she asked in essence. Home to marry, every one. Child raising and sexual companionship were the aspects of housework most stressed by the literature of the feminine mystique.¹⁹ Buying, using, and caring for the growing array of products for the home was also a time-consuming task. John Kenneth Galbraith, writing in 1973, described housewives as a "crypto-servant class"—a democratic servant class—because every man (not just the rich) can have a housewife.²⁰

And yet this intensification of the home mythos saw the largest expansion in women's wage work in our history. The female labor force increased from 10 million in 1920, to 14 million in 1940, and to 36 million in 1975. The female labor force participation rate (the number of women in the labor force as a ratio of all women in the population over 16) increased from 28 percent in 1940 to 47 percent in 1975. Many of these new entrants or reentrants were married women, the very women the homemaking myth was aimed at.

Perhaps the homemaking ideology's main function is not to keep women in the home, but to keep them in their traditional place in the labor market: in traditional female jobs, earning less than men. In today's labor market, women remain heavily concentrated in a few jobs. In 1969, half of all women workers were engaged in only 21 occupations listed by the Census Bureau. By comparison, half of all men were working in 65 jobs. Over 25 percent of women workers were employed in five jobs: secretary-stenographer, household worker, bookkeeper, elementary schoolteacher, and waitress. If female jobs are defined as those in which 70 percent or more of the workers are women, then in 1900 and in 1960, over half of all women workers work in female jobs. In fact, if all women and men were to be equally distributed among all occupations, two-thirds of the women (or men) would have to change jobs; today, this proportion is virtually the same as it was in 1900.²¹ Thus it can be said that for most women the more things change the more they stay the same.²²

Black women, however, experienced a significant change. As blacks moved North during and after World War II, black women, previously confined to

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Heidi Hartmann teaches courses on the political economy of discrimination, the labor market, capitalism, and the family. Her doctoral dissertation topic was *Capitalism and Women's Work in the Home, 1900-1930*.

"The roles women are supposed to play have shaped a number of syndromes familiar to women in the educational process. . . ."

The Changing Education of American Women

BY SARAH ELBERT

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TO UNDERSTAND THE RELATIONSHIP between educational institutions in America and women's social role and consciousness, as Jill Conway has remarked, "we must begin as in all questions of American cultural history with the colonial period and the Puritan heritage."¹ Current historians of education have usually taken their lead from two major writers, Bernard Bailyn and Lawrence Cremin.²

Bailyn and Cremin shared an assumption that the American wilderness and American opportunities for social mobility helped to provide a unique educational milieu. The stabilizing influences of family and church were threatened, in their view, by the very circumstances that provided opportunities for advancement in the new world. Education was a crucial institution in the forming of American society because it insured the orderly transfer of the dominant society's values from generation to generation and, paradoxically, at the same time managed to liberate man's spirit and aid him in the impulse to modernization. The American character, which Bailyn and Cremin saw as "individualistic, optimistic and enterprising," was shaped, they felt, in no small degree by rising literacy rates in colonial America.

Literate men were not only on their way to a better material existence, they were

more likely to identify with a new nation than were illiterates whose identities still lay with their villages or regions. And there is a hint that literates looked more to purely political leaders who embodied this new unity than to village leaders endowed with traditional superiorities.³

Literacy and education helped prepare the way for the ideology of the American revolution, a thesis brilliantly argued in Bernard Bailyn's seminal work, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*. If the threats of wilderness and rising mobility led to a literate citizenry, enlightened enough to challenge traditional concepts of hierarchy and authority, women's status in a patriarchal family structure and society might also have been challenged. Alas, it was not so.

In fact, this whole view of the role of education in the formation of early American society is being transformed by current demographic historians. In early seventeenth century New England and in England, a literate male society was correlated with a "cosmopolitan status and with wealth." "For generations, wealth had sought or bought literacy and literacy had earned wealth, until the two were so inextricably linked that literacy helped maintain the aura of superiority attributed to wealth."⁴ Yet this linkage of social and economic status to literacy did not apply to women. From 1650 to 1776, New England's female literacy rate rose from 30 to 45 percent while men's literacy rate rose from 60 to 90 percent.⁵

The Puritan tradition that mandated public schools in towns of 50 or more families was clear in its views of a hierarchical society, mirrored and maintained by the patriarchal family. The education of women was primarily domestic, with enough literacy to render the salvation of women's souls as likely or unlikely as those of their husbands and fathers. The famous school act of November 11, 1647, which ordered the teaching of children in townships of 50 or more householders at public expense or by parents and masters, did not specify the sex of the students. But, in

¹ Jill Conway, "Perspectives on the History of Women's Education in the United States," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 1. (Spring, 1974), p. 1.

² Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society* (New York: Norton, 1972), and Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The Colonial Experience* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972) are the major studies that remain the most detailed factual accounts of early American education, although their ideological assumptions are currently challenged by demographic and cultural works like Philip Greven's *Four Generations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), Lawrence Stone's "Literacy and Education in England, 1640-1900," *Past and Present*, vol. 42 (1969), and Kenneth Lockridge, *Literacy in Colonial New England* (New York: Norton, 1975), among others.

³ Lockridge, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

fact, as larger towns proliferated, the low rate of literacy of females in New England continued and some schools explicitly excluded girls.⁶

By 1760, new economic and social forces enabled and encouraged men of nearly all economic levels to achieve literacy, while women trailed behind. The transformation of the mode of production in the colonies made "literacy increasingly necessary to maintaining an estate over £100, or to holding any occupation other than laborer or farmer." Kenneth Lockridge concludes that the "Protestant impulse" and "social concentration" were responsible for the rise in male literacy in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in New England, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.⁷ Both of these conclusions go a long way to explain the story of women's education and the social roles of women in that period.

"The place of girls in New England town schools has been a rather obscure subject," noted Thomas Woody in his standard reference work, *The History of Women's Education in the United States*.⁸ In the early seventeenth century colonies, South as well as North, women's household responsibilities were seen as requiring no more than the minimal learning necessary for proper piety; too much schooling might lead, as Governor Winthrop suspected, to women's loss of their wits. Moreover, the town fathers and the parents of girls themselves were reluctant to maintain school facilities for females. The daughters of farmers, artisans and mechanics, and petty merchants sometimes attended common schools, but only erratically and usually only to learn to "read and sew" while their brothers learned to "read and write." Dame schools, usually taught by housewives in their homes, concentrated on simple skills, moral education, and domestic arts like spinning, carding, sewing and baking.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By the latter half of the eighteenth century, the admission of girls to town schools was more widespread, but sexual equality in primary school atten-

dance was not a reality until well into the nineteenth century. In the late eighteenth century, female pupils were often admitted to the public schools either at hours when boys were absent or in summer school sessions.

Woody was correct in concluding that

from the data concerning the individual towns it appears that the school laws of the early 17th century had no significance so far as the rapid advancement of education for girls was concerned. These town schools were animated by Calvinism and the English spirit on education and existed for the education of men to the service of the state and church. This wider service was not open to women and hence there was little argument in favor of their education as a public concern.⁹

Yet if the Protestant spirit did little for women's formal education, it allowed them a multitude of trades, crafts, and occupations as long as a predominantly household mode of production prevailed: "woman's side of the economic partnership included but transcended the obligation to maintain the home."¹⁰ In the "little commonwealth," as John Demos called the colonial household, production remained for at least one hundred years within the social institution of the family.¹¹

In the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, America provided its own contradictory transformation of women's role and women's education. By the early nineteenth century, one traveler noted that "the employments of women of New England are wholly domestic. The business which is abroad is all performed by men, even in the humblest spheres of life."¹² If sixteenth and seventeenth century fathers and mothers were jointly responsible parents, eighteenth century parenthood increasingly devolved more specifically on mothers. Women may actually have used paradoxical arguments to win male support for female education. Certainly, they invoked the republican rhetoric concerning the need for educated and enlightened sons who might one day be President and who needed enlightened mothers to nurture them. They also played on male fears of social disintegration and anarchy as male working days drew them farther from the home and hearth, with only women left at home to tend to households and children. With these goodwives ignorant, inexperienced and potentially frivolous, a man might well support the education of his wife and daughters for the prosperity and safety of his own home. The separation of spheres certainly contributed to the growing autonomy of women in the family, and this maternal power was reified and sentimentalized in "the cult of true womanhood."

But the woman on the pedestal could see farther than her own front door; her new "power," however limited to cultural pieties, contributed to her growing demands for societal reforms in those areas that

⁶ See, for example, Cremin, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

⁷ Lockridge, *op. cit.*

⁸ Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, vol. 1 (New York: The Science Press, 1929), p. 142. This remains the most detailed factual source on women's place in the American educational process, yet it is a confusing, anecdotal and conceptually muddled account. As Jill Conway has noted, it is frequently at variance with the histories of the various educational institutions themselves. A more thorough, viable account awaits the results of the research of a number of students of American women's education, who are now at work.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1975), p. 31.

¹¹ John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth, Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

¹² Woody, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

affected the family and home. Temperance, peace, the elimination of prostitution and educational reforms were among the causes favored by the feminists. Many of them, affected deeply by their own "conservative," evangelical Protestant beliefs, demanded an end to slavery, at least partly because slavery was viewed as the destroyer of families and the greatest single obstacle to the salvation and manifest destiny of the Republic. Newly purified, exalted, but still largely uneducated human beings, women sought to "purify" their country, and they actively sought entrance to public and private education to gain the necessary skills and knowledge.

Ironically, while Benjamin Rush, Dewitt Clinton and, later, Horace Mann and Henry Barnard supported the demands of women, their arguments reinforced the separation of male and female spheres of influence. The development of "domesticity" as women's proper sphere helped to insure the development of "compensatory" rather than equal education for women. Women were still viewed as helpmeets.

In 1824, the first girls' school was established in Worcester, Massachusetts. It lasted until 1845 and, like the Boston public school for girls established a year later, it did not fail but, on the contrary, closed because "it was found that a single school of this description would not accommodate more than one fourth part of those who ought to attend such an institution." New York City established its Female High School shortly thereafter and within several years the "high school movement" had taken hold. Coeducational schools and female high schools and seminaries proliferated, and the new emphasis on "solid studies" marked a more serious attitude towards women's education than had previously been the case in "finishing" schools. "The weight of female influence in society, in every stage of moral and intellectual advancement," was noted. The new schools might solve the problem of bored young ladies,

¹³ Woody, *op. cit.* For a brilliant review essay of recent scholarship on women's history that includes the role of education in this period, see Barbara Sicherman, "American History," in *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1975), pp. 461-485.

¹⁴ Adelia A. F. Johnston, "Oberlin College," in Anna Brackett, ed., *The Education of American Girls Considered in a Series of Essays* (New York, 1874).

¹⁵ Catharine Beecher, "The True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women," as cited in Katharine Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: a study in Domesticity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).

¹⁶ See Michael Katz, "From Voluntarism to Bureaucracy in American Education," in M. Katz, ed., *Education in American History* (New York: Praeger, 1973).

¹⁷ I am greatly indebted to Professor Maris Vinovskis who shared with me his working paper, "Women in Education in Ante Bellum America," prepared by Maris Vinovskis and Richard M. Bernard for the Center for Demography and Ecology at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in 1973. Professor Vinovskis discussed these findings at the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians, Radcliffe College, in the spring of 1975.

languishing in common schools two and three years beyond their completion of studies; the high schools could also furnish teachers for the lower schools.¹³

DOMESTIC CONTRADICTIONS

The "professionalization" of a woman's sphere found institutional expression in the first seminaries and colleges for women, including Catharine Beecher's Hartford Female Seminary and Mary Lyon's Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. Both schools adopted a familiar structure that made domestic service central to their organization as did Oberlin. By 1873, Oberlin had granted certificates in the "Women's Course" to 525 women and only 95 certificates to women taking the full classical course.¹⁴ Catharine Beecher had turned the privatization of women's role on its head,

Every woman ought to be trained to act as an educator; and no woman ever ought to be considered as qualified to become the head of a family till she has been practically exercised in this, her highest professional duty.¹⁵

If Puritanism fueled male educational development in the colonial period, surely evangelical Protestantism can be credited to a great extent with the nineteenth century's "take off period" in the education of women.

Education, reformers argued, was crucial to the encouragement of individual conversion experiences, which alone could produce those Christian virtues of thrift, obedience to authority and disciplined work habits, all necessary to class harmony and a "modernized" work force. Female teachers were to be the instruments of social control and, paradoxically, the bearers of social mobility for the working and middle classes. The entrance of women to higher education and to the teaching profession was thus assured by a curious combination of "true womanhood" professionalization, and by the need for cheap labor in the transformation of the public school system from "voluntarism to bureaucracy."¹⁶

While reformers in the antebellum period struggled with the issue of college admissions for women, only a small percentage of male or female students were actually college bound. Prior to 1860, very few students had more than a primary or common school background, although by 1840 common school attendance was the universal rule and the gap between male and female attendance rates was narrowing sharply. By the Civil War, at least in New England, 75.7 percent of all females between the ages of five and nineteen were in school.¹⁷ Attendance was always lower in the South, but lower attendance was due less to "a surplus of pedestals," as Maris Vinovskis has said, than to Southern attitudes toward education. Northern and Midwestern attitudes toward public education were shaped by the need for a disciplined work force as defined by manufacturers and by the

workingman's demand for equal opportunities for advancement. Once more, women's demands for education were met not for their own self-actualization but for the needs of the dominant male society.

By the Civil War, the educational system was also a significant employer of women. In Massachusetts, by 1860, women comprised 77.8 percent of all public schoolteachers, and this only presaged the "feminization" of teaching in the twentieth century. By 1920, more than 80 percent of the nation's teachers were women. There is still little analysis of the impact of teaching on the female life cycle from the late nineteenth century to the present. In the antebellum period, "approximately one out of five women in Massachusetts was a schoolteacher at some time in her life."¹⁸ Even if that experience only lasted for one or two years (the turnover rate was very high) and was regarded as temporary, it was an important experience in autonomy for generations of women trained to think in terms of a purely domestic role in society. Furthermore, in 50 years or less, women moved from an illiteracy rate of 50 percent to teaching as a vocational opportunity. They achieved not only literacy but entrance into higher education, and to a lesser extent, into public life, and they had come to an understanding of the importance of education.

Nonetheless, advancement in the profession of teaching was limited for women in the last decade of the nineteenth century and remains limited. By the 1920's, women protested that although they received approximately one-third of all graduate degrees, they comprised only 7.9 percent of the faculties of higher institutions of learning.¹⁹ Even in the public school systems, the most accepted sphere of female professional work, women remained at the bottom. William Chafe reported that the mid-twentieth century found women as superintendents of schools in only 45 of 2,853 cities.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ William H. Chafe, *The American Woman, Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Role, 1920-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 60. Chafe's work is a milestone in the integration of women's educational history and women's work. In particular, he emphasizes that by 1930 while 57 percent of all employed women were either Negroes or foreign-born whites, they were primarily domestic servants or factory workers in the clothing industry. The years after World War I saw secretarial services and some professions become vocations for women, but it also saw the largest part of the female labor force engaged in domestic and factory work. The relationship between this kind of "tracking" and the educational process remains to be researched.

²⁰ Dr. Edward H. Clarke's book, *Sex in Education* (1873), was an enormously influential work in American intellectual circles until the turn of the century. See also Lois W. Banner, *Women in Modern America, A Brief History* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1974), for a lucid description of changing attitudes towards education and women.

²¹ Johnston, *op. cit.*

²² Banner, *op. cit.*

In the 1870's, Dr. Edward H. Clarke suggested that higher education for women would signal the end of the American people. In *Sex in Education* he declared that the strain on the female mind and body would be more than woman could endure and still be fit to bear the nation's children.²⁰ He was met with a storm of female protest led by the first women professionals and the graduates of female colleges and state coeducational colleges who collected their essays under the title, "The Education of American Girls."²¹

Higher education for women became increasingly contradictory in purpose and diffuse in structure. The numerous women's colleges established during and after the Civil War (Vassar in 1861, Wellesley in 1870, Smith in 1871, Bryn Mawr in 1885, and, in 1889, Barnard as an annex to Columbia and Radcliffe as an annex to Harvard) advanced conflicting views on the proper roles for their graduates.²² The debates in the Association of Collegiate Alumni indicated that almost all of them believed that motherhood was the highest fulfillment of a woman's life. The question was whether or not a woman had to forego marriage and motherhood if she had the ability and the training necessary for a career. If domesticity were still a sacred trust, then women were obliged to choose between public and private spheres; they could not attempt some combination of roles that might short-change their primary function in society.

Despite this dilemma, the concept of a new kind of marriage and certainly the possibility of family planning had an enormous effect on women's aspirations, if not on their everyday life. Graduates of elite women's college were in the vanguard of those who either chose spinsterhood and professional life or married and produced only one or two children; yet the admission of women to state universities spread the effects of higher education to an increasing number of women.

In a very important sense, the doctrines of separate spheres and compensatory education and life roles are still cultural limitations on American womanhood. As Lois Banner states,

The most common argument for professional medical and legal training for women, for example, was not that women had the right to it, but that women patients and

(Continued on page 233)

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"As individuals and as a group, black women have made important contributions to the economic development of the United States and have provided the sustaining force for the maintenance of the black family. . . . When questioned, black women express a strong sense of concern about the status of all members of their race; therefore, they find it difficult to identify with some of the concerns of the women's liberation movement."

The Black Woman in American Society

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BLACK WOMEN have a complex position in American society because their social and economic status is determined by the operation of a dual system of discrimination—racism and sexism. Furthermore, the dual nature of discrimination has limited the economic opportunities of black women; historically, they have been at the bottom of the American socioeconomic ladder.

On the one hand, black women face the same problems confronted by white women: the division of labor between the sexes and the ideology that defines sex roles perpetuate the ideal of the woman as wife and mother rather than as a full and equal participant in all social and economic activities. On the other hand, the black woman's unequal status in society is intensified by racist practices that further inhibit her ability to survive, let alone thrive, within the system. In addition, the black woman's efforts to come to terms with racial, sexist and economic subjugation have been criticized and misinterpreted by analysts of the black family. The attempts that black women and men have made to adapt to their plight have produced relationships within the black family that, in many cases, do not conform to the sex roles and values prevalent in the dominant white society. Instead of receiving praise for resourcefulness and ability against overwhelming odds, the black woman is often accused of emasculating the black man and precipitating the alleged disorganization of the black family.

In fact, the black woman's role in American society

and in the development of relationships within the black family is a logical outcome of the historical treatment of blacks in the United States. Racism, with its historical roots in the slave system, accounts for the differences in roles between white and black women in the home and in the labor market.

Several scholars have provided evidence to demonstrate that, in the United States, the black family has never received the support necessary to make it a viable physical, psychological, social or economic unit.¹ Over the centuries, the American system has denied black men the opportunity to provide protection and economic security for their families. For this reason, black women have assumed important functions within the family, which, in most white families, are assigned to men.

Some researchers have attempted to trace black behavior patterns and values to African traditions in order to explain male and female roles in the family.² Although their discussions shed some light on varying role patterns in the black and white populations, it is not necessary to go back that far in history to understand the nature of black interfamilial relationships.

Without doubt, slavery was the major disruptive force in the development of black male-female relationships. The slave system did not allow the development of normal ties among slaves. Although William Fogel and Stanley Engerman dispute the degree to which the slave's family rights were violated, in general, the male slave was deprived of the right to protect his wife and family.³ When men did seek to defend their women, the reprisals were severe. Marriage between slaves was not legally recognized and, therefore, was not a permanent state. Even if marital unions were established, mates and children could be sold and separated at will. In addition, black women were often sexually exploited: some were violated by their own masters or placed at the

¹ In particular, see Joyce A. Ladner, *Tomorrow's Tomorrow: The Black Woman* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1971; Anchor Books, 1972), pp. 3-39; and Andrew Billingsley, *Black Families in White America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), pp. 38-71.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Slavery* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1974), pp. 126-144.

mercy of other men; others were used to breed more slaves.⁴

Under this brutal system, the inability of slaves to maintain sustained relationships left the slave mother with the ongoing care of all her children (resulting from relationships with fellow slaves and others), i.e., mothers shouldered this responsibility as long as the children were allowed to remain with them. As Ladner points out, many black women served a vital economic function as providers for their families in the absence of a sustained husband-father figure.⁵ Family groupings were of necessity female-dominated or female-headed, and slave women had to cope as best they could in order to maintain their children.

On an emotional as well as a physical level, slave women suffered the ultimate form of sexual degradation because they had no control over their bodies, neither legal recourse nor social sanctions protected them against unsolicited advances or attacks. Yet in spite of the hopelessness and helplessness of these women, a mythology about their sexuality developed that still persists in American racist thought. Black women were abused, and they were accused of inviting the abuse. Sexual perceptions about the promiscuity and prowess of blacks have been one means of justifying unequal treatment.

In the post-Civil War period, blacks fared little better than they had under slavery. In effect, slaves were set adrift in society and Southern blacks were left with little or no means of earning a living for themselves and their dependents.

Life remained hazardous and marginal. Of greatest importance, the Negro male, particularly in the South, became an object of intense hostility, an attitude unquestionably based in some measure on fear.⁶

In the late nineteenth century, a new race system replaced the old institution of slavery as a mechanism of social control.

After slavery, marriage between blacks became a legal institution, but the fundamental economic insecurity for the black family remained a hard reality. In order to supplement meager family income, black women labored side by side with their husbands in

the fields or took low-paying menial jobs outside the home similar to those they had performed as slaves. Poor white women, particularly recently arrived immigrants from Europe, also found it necessary to work in low-status jobs that were outside the traditional roles considered respectable for women, but they did not have to deal with the problems of prejudice on the scale confronted by blacks.

The treatment of black men sharply influenced their personal relationships. In his day-to-day life, the black male faced the prospect of public humiliation, mob violence and other forms of oppression; at the same time, he was denied equal access to education and training and jobs that would provide a stable income for his family. In many ways, his ability to assume "normal" duties within the home (as represented by white standards and values) was little better than it had been under slavery.

The rapid industrialization and urbanization of the twentieth century opened up new opportunities for blacks, but these opportunities also created difficult conditions for the development of black family life. In reference to the northern migration of blacks, Billingsley comments:

Many men left their families behind, in part because it was expensive and somewhat uncertain to bring them along, and in part because the recruiters who paid the way of the men did not pay the fares of their families. The men were encouraged to go North, get settled, and send for their families later. While most of them did, in the meantime, the period of estrangement, both for the men in the cities of the North and for their families left behind, exerted definite strains on family solidarity and organization.⁷

While the men were absent, the women were left with the primary responsibility for making decisions within the home.

A combination of push and pull factors induced black migration to the cities. Blacks were pushed out of the rural South by the decline in demand for labor used in the production and harvesting of major southern crops and by adverse social conditions. They were attracted to the North by the possibility of raising their incomes and improving the educational and other opportunities of their children. However, as blacks moved into industrial centers, the combination of racial discrimination, poverty and limited skills inhibited their socioeconomic and their geographical mobility.

Today, it is clear that various forms of discrimination still prevent blacks from moving out of the crime-infested, crowded, poverty-ridden conditions they found in the cities. In fact, the central city concentration of blacks has increased since 1950.⁸ By 1970, 74 percent (16.8 million) of the total black population (22.6 million) lived in metropolitan areas and 5 million black people lived in the 26 cities with 100,000 or more blacks.⁹ In all cities with low-income

⁴ See Gerda Lerner, *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York: Random House, 1972; Vintage Books, 1973), pp. 7-52.

⁵ Ladner, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

⁶ U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Policy Planning and Research, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (March, 1965), p. 16.

⁷ Billingsley, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁸ Sar A. Levitan, William B. Johnston, and Robert Taggart, *Still A Dream: The Changing Status of Blacks since 1960* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 6.

⁹ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1973*, Current Population Reports, Special Studies, Series P-23, no. 48 (1974), p. 11 and p. 130.

areas (i.e., all census tracts in which 20 percent or more of all persons were below the poverty level in 1969), only 50 percent of black male family heads worked 50 to 52 weeks in 1969. A survey of statistical data on income, employment and occupational status for any period illustrates the precarious economic existence of blacks. Jobless rates for blacks historically have been double those of whites. Black median family income was only 58 percent of that of whites in 1974, down from a high of 61 percent in 1969 and 1970.¹⁰ This low ratio holds true even though for most income levels the ratio of black families with husband-wife earners is higher than it is for white families.

The historical and statistical evidence indicates that economic insecurity has been and remains a dominant feature of black life in the United States. Uncertain and adverse conditions have forced the black woman out of the home and into the labor market. In the home, many black women have found it necessary to assume duties and powers usually reserved for men in the traditional white American family's value system.

In her discussion of the status of black women in the American political system, Mae C. King writes that

neither the "American housewife" model nor the "delicate female" image was applicable to black women in America. . . . The "hard-working woman model" is still, perhaps, the dominant reality for most black women.¹¹

The feminist movement in the United States has attracted few black women, mostly because many of

the issues expounded by feminists express the concerns of white middle class women and bear little relationship to the problems of poor black women. As Barbara Lyles notes, "the black woman's concerns are still racial discrimination and economic privation."¹² Except for a select group of middle class blacks, most black women have not had the leisure nor the material luxuries enjoyed by the middle class.

Data show that black women are more likely to work outside the home (even when young children are present) and to make a larger contribution to family income than white women.¹³ Generally, as a group, black women are more likely than white women to be the victims of a host of economic problems, including unemployment and poverty-level income. In the occupational hierarchy, black women are more concentrated in the low-paying, low-status occupations than are whites. Thus, in 1974, 37 percent of all employed black women were service workers (11 percent worked in private households) as compared to 19 percent of white employed women (3 percent in private households).¹⁴ If we look at unemployment rates by industry and sex for the year 1974, for almost all major industrial groups in which black women are numerous enough to offer a statistic, black women have the highest annual average unemployment rate, followed by black men, white women, and white men in that order.¹⁵

The prevalence in the black population of households headed by women has been discussed widely in the past few years. Although the majority of black families have a husband and wife present (60.9 percent in 1975), the incidence of female-headed households has increased rapidly over the past few years. Between 1970 and 1974, the number of black women who were heads of their own families rose by one-half million, or 37 percent.¹⁶ In 1975, 35.3 percent of black women and 10.5 percent of white women headed their families. Ladner asserts that the same social and economic conditions that allowed for the emergence of a female-dominated society during slavery continue to perpetuate this type of family structure in modern America.¹⁷

There are varying interpretations of the supposed matriarchal character of black families, but much of the available evidence suggests that the precarious economic existence of black males and the effects of insecurity on the family are the major reasons for any matriarchal tendencies in black family life. In a recent study, the findings of Ross and Sawhill indicate that "male authority within the family is closely linked to the income which men are able to provide."¹⁸ This conclusion coincides with findings from other studies. Income figures indicate the difficult situation of black families. In 1974, the median family income for blacks was \$7,808 while the comparable white figure was \$13,356. Moreover, 28 per-

¹⁰ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1974*, Current Population Reports, Special Studies, Series P-23, no. 54 (1975), p. 25.

¹¹ "Oppression and Power: The Unique Status of the Black Woman in the American Political System," *Social Science Quarterly*, vol. 56 (June, 1975), p. 121.

¹² "The Black Woman: Person or Non-Person," *The Crisis*, vol. 82 (May, 1974), p. 164.

¹³ In 1973, about one-half of the women of Negro and other nonwhite races (16 years and older) were in the civilian labor force, compared to approximately 44 percent of white women. For married women with husbands present, the percentages were slightly higher for blacks and slightly lower for whites. Among women who had at any time been married (15-49 years old), about 49 percent of black mothers with children under 5 were members of the labor force in 1973, 17 percentage points higher than the comparable proportion of white mothers. The percentage of husband-wife earners is higher for black than for white families—55 percent compared to 46 percent in 1973. *Social and Economic Status of the Black Population* (1974), p. 60 and p. 93.

¹⁴ *Social and Economic Status of the Black Population* (1975), p. 74.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹⁶ White female heads rose by 700,000 or 16 percent during the same period. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹⁷ Ladner, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁸ Heather Ross and Isabel Sawhill, *Time of Transition: The Growth of Families Headed by Women* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1975), p. 77.

cent of all black families and 53 percent of black families headed by women had incomes below the low-income level in 1974 (\$5,038 for a nonfarm family of 4). The comparable percentages for whites were 7.0 and 24.9 percent respectively.¹⁹

Ross and Sawhill also found that differences in the incidence of white and black female-headed households were due to a combination of factors: higher separation rates, lower remarriage rates, more out-of-wedlock births for blacks than for whites.²⁰ However, the racial difference in separation contributed most to the greater proportion of black families headed by women.²¹ The primary factors that account for marital instability again appear to be economic. Ross and Sawhill found no difference by race in recent rates of marital dissolution, after they allowed for economic variables, especially the less stable job market faced by black men.

Jacquelyne Jackson has called attention to the unfavorable male-female sex ratio in the black population as a factor that might explain the lower rate of remarriage among black women.²² In 1970, the male-female ratio for the 20-24 age group was 0.86; it was 0.84 for the 25-35 age group. "Additionally, 4.5 percent of the males compared with only 0.5 percent of black women of these ages were in institutions [mostly prisons or jails]."²³

Evidence cited by Levitan, Johnston and Taggart indicates that when black males are financially capable of supporting a family, they are likely to do so.²⁴ These authors also argue that income capacity alone explains only part of the differences in marital stability among blacks and whites; such factors as rural to urban migration may also have contributed to black family instability.²⁵

Another explanation of the growing number of families headed by women that emerged from the Ross and Sawhill study (and has been suggested by others) is that marital instability in the total population is positively related to women's increasing economic independence; when women have alternative means of supporting themselves, they find it easier to escape from unsuccessful marriages. Black women have perhaps been less fearful of dissolving legal and informal relationships: either they have grown up in an atmosphere where women were at least semi-independent financially, or they have had considerable work experience themselves (albeit in low-paying jobs). Therefore, black women probably have not suffered the traumas of the middle class white woman who, after long years of marriage and dependency, decides to seek a divorce.

In the labor market, black women have made major strides over the past decade in terms of occupational status and income. In particular, the median income ratio of black to white women (full-time workers) rose from 74 percent in 1967 to 86 percent in 1972, and black women also made gains relative to black men.²⁶ The continuation of these advances, however, will depend on several factors, including the educational attainment of black women. The differences in educational attainment between black men and women are often discussed.²⁷ Generally the observed proportion of persons completing four years of high school or more has been higher for black women than for black men. However, the proportion of black women (ages 18 to 24) enrolled in college has leveled off since 1970, while black male college participation rates have continued to rise.²⁸

Over the years, educated black women have been confined to traditional female occupations much like white women. If black women are to move out of sex-stereotyped jobs and increase their representation in higher paying jobs, they will need equal access to professional education; therefore, it is alarming to see college participation rates leveling off for black women. It is difficult to determine where racism

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¹⁹ *Social and Economic Status of the Black Population* (1975), pp. 42-43.

²⁰ Ross and Sawhill, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

²¹ "Despite the widespread belief that divorce is a white, upper class phenomenon, the incidence of divorce is nearly half again higher among nonwhites than whites. . . . Once divorced or widowed, black women are less likely to remarry than whites. In 1970, 49 percent of black women age twenty-four to thirty-four who had been widowed or divorced had remarried compared to 69 percent for whites.

"Separation without divorce is also more common among blacks than whites. In 1970, 17 percent of black married women were currently separated, compared with only 2 percent of white women." Levitan, Johnston and Taggart, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.

²² "Black Women in a Racist Society," in Charles V. Willie, Bernard M. Kramer, and Bertram S. Brown, eds., *Racism and Mental Health* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973), pp. 210-211.

²³ Levitan, Johnston and Taggart, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Social and Economic Status of the Black Population* (1975), p. 94.

²⁷ See Lerner, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-223.

²⁸ *Social and Economic Status of the Black Population* (1975), p. 62.

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BOOK REVIEWS

ON WOMEN

NOTABLE AMERICAN WOMEN: A BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY. 3 vols. EDITED BY EDWARD T. JAMES et. al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974. 2,073 pages, classified listing of biographies according to profession or general field and index, \$75.00, cloth; \$18.50, paper.)

This scholarly work grew out of a Radcliffe College decision in 1957 to sponsor the publication of a dictionary of American women. Entries include all notable American women who died prior to 1950 (this to insure historical perspective). Only about 700 of the 15,000 notables in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (Scribner's) are women; *Notable American Women* was intended to correct this distortion. Both villains and heroines are included and are somewhat unevenly treated. The 1,359 entries are arranged in alphabetical order. They range in length from a brief 400 words to a lengthy 7,000 (about Mary Baker Eddy), the length apparently dictated by the availability of information and the perspective of the biographer. Each biography is written by a knowledgeable scholar and edited and checked for historical accuracy by a staff of editors.

The general quality of the biographies is excellent, with many illuminating quotes and references, like Benjamin Franklin's admonition to his wife upon the marriage of Franklin's daughter Sarah Franklin to Richard Bache against "an expensive wedding."

It is a measure of the general interest of the biographies that the reader, browsing through the three volumes, may enjoy reading many of the entries from A to Z for pleasure as well as for scholarly information. It is unfortunate that there is no chronological index. O.E.S.

WOMANHOOD IN AMERICA FROM COLONIAL TIMES TO THE PRESENT. BY MARY P. RYAN. (New York: New Viewpoints division of Franklin Watts, Inc., 1975. 496 pages, notes and index, \$15.00.)

In many ways this is the best of the current crop of books having to do with women. The scope is broad and covers the entire history of women in America. "Accordingly, the broad social and cultural sweep of this chronicle [is] interrupted by illustrations of the personal and collective acts whereby women came to grips with their historical predicaments."

In preindustrial America, women were economic partners and political and civil nonentities. In the industrialization of the country, women were generally expected to assume a domestic function; in the twentieth century women began to play a variety of roles, at home and in the work force, still overshadowed by the domestic role assigned to them in the previous century. Mary Ryan believes that "today's and tomorrow's feminists . . . must face . . . a whole economic and social system and a historical course that may veer in entirely unexpected directions." She maintains that women must be constantly alert and maintain continuous pressure upon all our systems to prevent another new cage being built for womankind.

This is a well-researched, well-written book that gives excellent perspective to the history of women in America. The full notation adds greatly to the value and interest of the book. O.E.S.

THE LADIES OF SENECA FALLS. BY MIRIAM GURKO. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1974. 328 pages, bibliography, chronology and index, \$7.95.)

In July, 1848, five women under the leadership of Elizabeth Cady Stanton met in Seneca Falls, New York, to plan "A Convention to discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of women," to be held in July. This was the first such convention ever held.

Miriam Gurko writes a fascinating story of the events of the women's rights movement prior to this first convention and up to the present time. The chronology helps to date events and to relate persons and movements. O.E.S.

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WOMEN'S WORK

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domestic service, began to take other jobs. Between 1960 and 1972, the number of black female clerical workers increased from 262,000 to 976,000, or from 9 percent to 24 percent of all black female workers.²³

Pay differences between women and men, like occupational differences, have not declined over time, and in fact have widened since 1956. In 1973, the median annual income of full-time, year-round women workers was only 57 percent of men's. This differential was not completely eliminated even when adjustments were made for differences in occupational groups, work experience, educational levels, and other variables. Many economists argue that it is precisely the confinement of women to a few occupations that results in these lower earnings.²⁴ Many women are trained in precisely these jobs. Women who are not actively looking for work and are thus not in the labor market may be willing to enter in response to minor changes in conditions; traditional female occupations are said to be overcrowded because so many workers are available.

If, in fact, it is primarily job segregation that is responsible for the lower earnings of women workers, antidiscrimination measures that do not contribute

toward ending that segregation will be ineffective. Unfortunately, throughout the history of the labor market the resistance of job segregation to change suggests that measures to combat it will have tough going.

In addition to job segregation in the labor market, there is another fundamental division of labor between women and men: women are still responsible for child care and for housework. This is clearly of direct benefit to men, who by and large do not have to do this work. Even when both husband and wife are earning wages outside the home, the wife is responsible for housework; according to studies by home economists at Cornell University, men devote an average one-half hour a day to housework, and this average does not rise when their wives work.²⁵ The ideology of the feminine mystique—that women's place is at home—helps to perpetuate this double burden for women.

There is no question that the double burden disadvantages women in the labor market. And women, who earn less money than men when they work for wages, are going to continue to find it sensible to marry in order to have the standard of living to which they aspire. Thus, it can be argued that as long as women continue to do housework they will be disadvantaged in the labor market, and as long as women are disadvantaged in the labor market, they will continue to do housework. This conundrum suggests that measures designed to equalize women's status in the labor market will have to equalize their status at home as well. Today, the tensions between the spheres of home and market work are increasingly evident.

To summarize the role that women have played in the development of the United States economy, women have provided future workers and have serviced present workers; they have maintained the home as a service center for society's tensions. They have also entered the labor market on demand, first in textile mills, then as teachers, clerical and service workers. They have formed a willing wage labor army, readily deployed and occasionally readily demobilized, as after World Wars I and II. Like the labor of blacks and other minorities, women's work, low paid and segregated, has probably been more profitable to employers than the work of white males. Employers have also benefited from divisions among workers that are exacerbated by differentials in remuneration. The weakness of a divided working class has contributed to the strength of the employing class.²⁶ Thus, while the housework performed by women directly benefits men individually and as a group, the position of women at home and in the labor force maintains the status quo in the society at large. The liberation of women, then, could mean the liberation of all Americans. ■

²³ U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, "Facts on Women Workers of Minority Races," May, 1974.

²⁴ See Francine Blau (Weisskoff), "Woman's Place in the Labor Market," *American Economic Review*, vol. 62 (May, 1972), pp. 161-66, and Barbara R. Bergmann, "Occupational Segregation, Wages and Profits When Employers Discriminate by Race or Sex," *Eastern Economic Journal*, vol. 1 (April-July, 1974), pp. 103-110.

²⁵ Kathryn E. Walker, "Homemaking Still Takes Time," *Journal of Home Economics*, vol. 61 (October, 1969), pp. 621-624, and "Time Used by Husbands for Household Work," *Family Economics Review*, vol. 59 (June, 1970), pp. 8-11, provide a wealth of information on housework time.

²⁶ Michael Reich, David Gordon, and Richard Edwards, "A Theory of Labor Market Segmentation," *American Economic Review*, vol. 63 (May, 1973), explores this argument further.

THE CHANGING LEGAL STATUS (Continued from page 210)

(1975), the Court struck down a statute providing for a different age of "majority" for males and females. The father was obligated under a divorce decree to support his children only until the age of majority; the Court stated that in this context it was impermissible under the equal protection clause for Utah to provide for a lower age of majority for girls.

LEGISLATION AND THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Congress has also struck against sex discrimination. In 1963, the Equal Pay Act³³ required employers to pay equal salaries to men and women performing the same work. If a violation of the act is established, the underpaid employee can receive an order requiring the employer to pay equal wages, back pay for up to two years, and court costs.

In 1964, Congress enacted Title VII of the Civil Rights Act,³⁴ which prohibits gender-based discrimination in employment unless the worker's sex is a "bona fide occupational qualification [BFOQ] reasonably necessary to the normal operation of that particular business or enterprise."³⁵ This BFOQ provision has been construed very narrowly by the courts, and it is very difficult for an employer to justify sex discrimination on this basis. For example in *Rosenfeld v. Southern Pacific Co.*, 444 F. 2d 1219 (9th Cir., 1971), a position requiring the employee to work up to 80 hours a week and to lift various objects

weighing more than 50 pounds was not considered a BFOQ limited to men workers. The circuit court asserted that the company could not "raise a commonly accepted characterization of women as the 'weaker sex' to the level of a BFOQ,"³⁶ and that sex characteristics must be the basis of a BFOQ.

Protective legislation enacted by the states was challenged under Title VII. Although by 1968 31 of the 41 state minimum wage laws applied to all workers, more than one-half the states restricted the number of hours a woman employee could work and excluded women from certain occupations.³⁷ The courts have held that these state laws violate Title VII and are invalid.

Title VII has also been used to strike down seemingly neutral job qualifications that have a discriminatory impact on women. For example, in *Meadows v. Ford Motor Co.*, 5 F.E.P. Cases 665 (W.D. Ky, 1973), the requirement that employees must weigh more than 150 pounds was held to violate Title VII, since it discriminated against women and was unnecessary for the conduct of the business.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which has the power to investigate and conciliate cases of employment discrimination. The EEOC also has the power to bring suit against an employer in a federal court. In addition, private individuals are provided directly with a cause of action in federal court if they have been the subject of impermissible employment discrimination.

Although the Equal Rights Amendment³⁸ was introduced into Congress every year since 1923, it was not until 1972 that Congress passed the amendment. If four additional states ratify the amendment, it will be incorporated into the constitution.³⁹

The effect that the amendment will have on the law, if adopted, is not certain. The policy behind the amendment is that the law must deal with particular characteristics of individuals rather than with the overbroad characteristic of a person's sex, and the amendment will be enforced in order to make this policy effective. This does not mean, however, that all gender-based distinctions in legislation will be unconstitutional. The legislative history of the amendment and the constitutional right of privacy⁴⁰ indicate that in the "privacy areas," i.e., in the case of the separation of the sexes in public restrooms or in the case of body searches conducted by a police officer of the same sex, distinctions based on sex may continue.⁴¹ Other types of legislation, however, like the ineligibility of women for combat duty, would be impermissible. This restriction, which has been upheld under modern equal protection challenges, would be struck down as violative of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Family law would also be affected by the Equal

³³ 29 U.S.C. §206 (d) (1970).

³⁴ 42 U.S.C. §2000e et. seq. (1970). Only employers hiring 15 or more persons are affected by the act. Although the federal government is exempt from the act, it is required by statute to engage in an affirmative program of equal employment opportunity.

³⁵ 42 U.S.C. §2000e-2(e) (1970).

³⁶ *Rosenfeld v. Southern Pacific Co.*, 444 F. 2d 1219, 1235 (9th cir., 1971).

³⁷ In 1968, 39 of the 42 maximum-hours laws applied to female employees only. Eleven states also restricted the poundage a woman could carry and 19 states restricted night work.

³⁸ The proposed Equal Rights Amendment states:

"§1 Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex.

"§2 The Congress shall have the power to enforce by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

"§3 The Amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification."

In addition to the proposed federal Equal Rights Amendment, a number of states have incorporated equal rights amendments into their state constitutions.

³⁹ 34 of the 38 states necessary for ratification have ap-

⁴⁰ See *Griswold v. Connecticut*, 381 U.S. 479 (1965). proved the constitutional amendment.

⁴¹ See Brown, Emerson, Falk and Freedman, "The Equal Rights Amendment: A Constitutional Basis for Equal Rights for Women," 80 Yale L. J. 871 (1971).

Rights Amendment. In most states, a married woman's domicile, or permanent home, is determined by the domicile of her husband. A domicile is the determinant of certain rights and privileges, like the right to hold public office, to receive welfare or to obtain in-state tuition benefits at a state-supported university. The Equal Rights Amendment would have the effect of permitting wives as well as husbands to choose their own domiciles. Although most states require both parents to support minor children, the duty to support a spouse generally is required of the husband only. This gender-based discrimination would violate the Equal Rights Amendment, as would intestacy laws that give greater benefits to widows than widowers. Alimony laws that do not apply equally to both sexes would also be struck down.

There have been many reforms in the laws regarding the status of women in America. These reforms, however, have been piecemeal, and there are still areas in the law in which persons are treated differently on the basis of sex. The proponents of the Equal Rights Amendment believe that, if enacted, it will provide the necessary mechanism for the equal rights of women in the law. ■

THE MAJORITY FINDS ITS PAST (Continued from page 196)

tributed" to it, only they did not know what they had made and had no tools to interpret their own experience. What is new at this time, is that women are fully claiming their past and shaping the tools by means of which they can interpret it.

Women are not a marginal "minority," and women's history is not a collection of "missing facts and views" to be incorporated into traditional categories. Women are at least half and often a majority of all Americans and are distributed through all classes and categories of American society. Their history inevitably reflects variations in economic class, race, religion and ethnicity. But the overriding fact is that women's history is the history of the *majority* of mankind. Their subjection to patriarchal institutions antedates all other oppression and has outlasted all economic and social changes in recorded history.

Thus, by definition, women's history is not an "exotic speciality," a contemporary fad, an obscure subdivision dealing with yet another "minority." Quite the contrary. Women's history poses a challenge to all historical scholarship—it demands a fundamental reexamination of the assumptions and methodology of traditional history. It challenges the assumption that underlies all historical scholarship, that man is the measure of all that is significant and that the activities pursued by men are by definition significant, while those pursued by women are subordi-

nate. Women's history demands that men and women be made the measure of significance. The new history will be a synthesis of traditional history and women's history.

It will be a history of the dialectic, the tensions between the two cultures, male and female. Such a synthesis will be based on close comparative study of given periods in which the historical experience of men is compared to that of women, their interactions being as much the subject of study as are their differences. Only after a series of such detailed studies can we hope to find the parameters by which to define the new universal history. This much can be said already: the new history must be based on the understanding that women are half of mankind and have always been *essential* to the making of history. Only a history based firmly on this recognition and equally concerned with men and women and with the establishment and the passing of patriarchy can claim to be truly a universal history. ■

THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

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election. In 1912, Oregon gave women the vote. When the Illinois state legislature made provision for women to vote but only for the President in 1913, women living east of the Mississippi were granted the vote (even though it was limited) for the first time. Woman suffrage was revitalized in the West because of the movement's "association in that region with the Progressive movement, which was bringing a new vitality to political reform forces during the years 1910-14."¹²

The turn of the century saw a rejuvenation of the eastern suffrage movement; new woman suffrage groups appeared. However there was no interest in a federal amendment on woman suffrage. The Susan B. Anthony amendment for woman suffrage had been introduced in the Senate in 1878, where it began its 41-year battle for congressional passage. The future nineteenth amendment stated simply that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." Since 1896, there had not even been a committee report in Congress on the Anthony amendment. Dormant sentiment for the Susan B. Anthony amendment was tapped by two new arrivals on the scene, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, who established the Congressional Union, which became the Woman's party in 1916. Because of differences over policy, the CU soon gave up its links with NAWSA to pursue an independent path. Believing that the party in power was responsible for obstructing the suffrage amendment, the Congressional Union campaigned against Demo-

¹² Grimes, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

cratic candidates for Congress beginning in 1914.

The tactics of the Congressional Union paid off. The woman suffrage amendment was finally brought to the floor of Congress: in March, 1914, the Senate voted 35 to 34 against the amendment, and in January, 1915, the House of Representatives defeated it, 204 to 174.

Following the return of Carrie Chapman Catt to the presidency of NAWSA in 1915, this organization abandoned the state referenda path and, like the Congressional Union, concentrated on a federal amendment. Added momentum and publicity were given to woman suffrage because of the outrageous treatment accorded members of the Woman's party picketing outside the White House in 1917 to demand passage of a federal amendment. The pickets were summarily arrested, jailed and brutally force-fed.

In 1917, the North Dakota legislature acted to allow women to vote for President. Its action was copied by Ohio, Indiana, Rhode Island, Nebraska and Michigan. A break in the Solid South finally came in March, 1917, in Arkansas, where women were granted a form of suffrage, i.e., the primary vote.¹³ That same year, New York joined the woman suffrage ranks. Still, setbacks continued to plague the movement. The Indiana measure granting women suffrage was declared unconstitutional in a court battle and a referendum in Ohio abrogated presidential suffrage for women.

World War I helped to propel the woman suffrage movement forward. Women were to be found working in any and all jobs connected with the war effort. They poured into industrial work and public service. Even with the tremendous contribution made by women to the war effort, the right to vote had to be vigorously pursued. Enfranchisement was the elusive pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. After the war, the push to win approval for the woman suffrage amendment accelerated because of fear that the momentum generated by the war might suddenly dissolve as it did in 1865.

Just before the House vote in January, 1918, on the woman suffrage amendment (274-136 in favor), President Woodrow Wilson threw his support behind the suffragists. But the Senate defeated the amendment. Incidentally, this was the first Congress in which a woman (Representative Jeannette Rankin of Montana) served.

The state legislatures of Iowa, Minnesota, Ohio, Maine, Missouri and Wisconsin granted the franchise to allow women to vote in presidential elections in 1919. After the passage of state referenda in South Dakota, Michigan and Oklahoma, women in 20 states (with 237 electoral votes) would be eligible to vote in the 1920 presidential election. Broad-based

sentiment in favor of woman suffrage could not be ignored. In January-February, 1919, some 24 state legislatures petitioned Congress to submit a federal woman suffrage amendment for state ratification.

In May, 1919, the 66th Congress met in special session. The House passed the Anthony amendment by a vote of 304 to 89, followed by Senate approval in June. A little more than another year passed before ratification in two-thirds of the states. Following a bitter battle, Tennessee became the 36th state to approve the amendment, and woman suffrage became the law of the land on August 26, 1920. The prophecy by Susan B. Anthony that "failure is impossible" was fulfilled at last. ■

WOMEN'S POLITICAL ROLE

(Continued from page 214)

base for a wide range of challenges to discriminatory practices in jobs, education, finance and credit practices, health care, and the like. After an initial burst of success, however, the proponents of the ERA have experienced considerable frustration in the past year or two in obtaining the ratification of the necessary two-thirds of the states.

But while the ERA remains stalled, challenges to specific forms of discrimination have proceeded and the record of achievement over the past ten years has been impressive. With respect to employment practices, federal affirmative action guidelines have opened up job opportunities in many areas of the American economy; on the basis of the ban against sex discrimination contained in the 1964 Civil Rights Act, women's groups have won significant rulings against corporations like American Telephone and Telegraph. These rulings have resulted in court-ordered changes in hiring, placement, and promotion procedures; in some instances they have also yielded substantial back-pay judgments for past discriminatory practices.¹⁴ In addition, changes in tax laws and social security and pension benefit schedules reflect the fact that many women are either equal to their spouses as income earners or are the sole means of support for their households.

In early 1973, in a sweeping ruling, the United States Supreme Court struck down most state laws and federal administrative rulings that barred abortion during the first trimester of pregnancy; the ruling also severely limited the ability of states to prohibit abortion during the latter stages of pregnancy. This ruling symbolized the emancipation from the traditional child-bearing role that women experienced in the 1960's—an emancipation brought about by developments in medicine as well as in law. Changes

¹³ Flexner, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

¹⁴ Chafee, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

in laws governing the grounds for divorce, custody and child-support practices and alimony payments also tended to emphasize the equality of men and women as marriage partners and as parents.

In the field of education, Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 mandated the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to draft regulations prohibiting sex discrimination in any educational program or institution that received federal financial assistance. After several years of debate, in 1975 the department finally issued a wide-ranging set of regulations covering such areas as admissions, financial aid, housing, and athletics that are bound to alter discriminatory practices from kindergartens to graduate schools throughout the nation.¹⁵

Not all efforts to enhance the status of women, however, have involved legal challenges. In many cases, women decided to enter the political arena itself to work for changes from within political institutions. In the late 1960's, the National Women's Political Caucus was formed to assist women in winning elective office, and the fruits of their endeavor can already be seen. During the quarter century after World War II, women constituted only 3 percent of the federal and state legislative assemblies in this country,¹⁶ but as a result of the general elections of 1974, the Caucus reported that 8 percent of state legislative seats were held by women at the beginning of the 1975 legislative sessions.

In sum, although American women have not yet achieved parity with men in federal, state, or local politics, they have made notable progress during the past decade. On an organizational basis they have broadened the scope of their legislative concerns to include policy issues outside the traditional domain of education and social welfare. Furthermore, in a style reminiscent of the program of legal challenges initiated by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), women's groups have shown great skill in using the courts and administrative channels to eliminate discriminatory practices and open opportunities for women in both public and private sectors of American life. Thus by working from positions of political and legal strength, women have made progress toward economic and political equality. ■

¹⁵ "Hearings Open on Sex Discrimination Rules," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 33 (June 25, 1975), pp. 1297-1300.

¹⁶ Wilma R. Krause, "Political Implications of Gender Roles: A Review of the Literature," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 68 (December, 1974), pp. 1706-1723.

CHANGING EDUCATION

(Continued from page 223)

clients had the right to consult professionals of the same sex in order to protect their womanly modesty.²³

The "cult of efficiency" that transformed the public school system in the early twentieth century had its effect on women's education, in keeping with the lingering assumption that women's familial role was crucial to the stability of society. Domestic science and home economics increasingly claimed the largest number of female college students well into the 1950's. It was not only because male faculties and trustees discriminated against women in the sciences and social sciences that women demanded separate departments and ultimately separate colleges of home economics within and without the university system. A more complex analysis of the growth of home economics requires attention to the importance of "science" and "efficiency" in the popular cultural view of progress in the home and in industry. If labor-management techniques increasingly defused labor protest with the mystique of "efficiency," so the concepts of the domestic scientist and the professional consumer mystified women and encouraged their acceptance of domesticity without wages instead of full and equal participation in the labor force.

During both world wars the "reserve army" of educated and competent women was activated by the image of "Rosie the Riveter," the cute factory girl who sacrificed her domesticity to the war effort but retained her femininity in anticipation of her resumption of the primary female responsibility.

But an advanced industrial America often seemed to find the employment of women in the labor force unprofitable, when women as consumers and homemakers could provide backup, unwaged labor in the home. During the 1930's, the Institute of Women's Professional Relations

advised women students to specialize in home economics and interior decoration in order to avoid competition with men. Only by concentrating in "feminine" occupations, the Institute's director declared, could women achieve success.²⁴

Feminine occupations not only defined professional women's ghetto-ization as teachers, librarians, social workers, and nurses; it also defined women without college or graduate degrees as service workers in offices, stores, light industry, health institutions, food service industries and so forth. Women's pay for the same jobs men held remained substantially lower. In great measure, the education of women mirrored

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 36. Woman's entry into medical and legal training schools is briefly and clearly outlined in Banner's book, but, as she points out, the best sources are still the autobiographies of pioneering women physicians and lawyers. See especially Elizabeth Blackwell, *Pioneer Work in Opening the Medical Profession to Women* (London, 1895). Maude Nathan, *Once Upon a Time and Today* (New York, 1933), Isabel Ross, *Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider* (New York: Arno, 1974). Regina Morantz is now at work on a historical study of women physicians in America.

²⁴ Chafe, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

the cultural belief in women's natural domestic role and reenforced the assumption that women's work outside the home was temporary, or occasioned by the need for "pin money."

By the 1930's, the Women's Bureau had ascertained that women, when they worked, were not working for frills, but because their families were dependent upon women's income for survival.²⁵ But with World War II and the optimistic faith in prosperity as a permanent American condition, the process of women's education and women's participation in the larger society was once again derailed; women's education and function were again "compensatory." Betty Friedan estimated that 60 percent of the college women educated in the mid-1950's dropped out before graduation to marry and raise children.

Just as domesticity in the nineteenth century contained its contradictions, so the new domesticity was to become the "feminine mystique."²⁶ The women's movement of our time may be the daughter of educated, alienated middle class females; but its demands for increased professional training for women and for a new timetable of schooling and employment suited to the female life cycle go far beyond middle class aspirations. Meeting the needs of workingclass women, black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American women has become a primary goal of a diversified women's movement that sees itself, in the broadest definition of feminism, as seeking a place in the educational process and the working world for human beings who happen to be female.

The transformation of the schools, largely accomplished by a female teaching force, brought testing and tracking in the name of efficient and democratic management. But just as scientific objectivity managed to track culturally disadvantaged boys into "vocational" and not academic paths (and to convince many of them that they received only what they "deserved") so the stereotyping of girls in the lower schools, reenforced and substantiated by the dominant culture, produced women who often assumed that their failure to do well in higher mathematics or philosophy or medicine was biologically determined.

Textbooks in all fields customarily did not mention women, while in children's stories and readers, women were unilaterally shown in dependent roles. . . . Sex-stereotyping was the term feminists coined to characterize this type of literature.

Given the cultural stereotypes of women and the pattern of female employment, it was not surprising that

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

²⁶ Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Norton, 1963). Friedan's data is not verified but her cultural history is indisputable in its thrust.

²⁷ Banner, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

²⁸ Center for Continuing Education of Women, *Women On Campus*, Proceedings of the Symposium, October 14, 1970.

the proportion of women to men in college dropped from 47 percent in 1920 to 35 percent in 1958, and that, by 1962, only one in three B.A.'s and M.A.'s and one in ten Ph.D.'s were awarded to women. With the exception of librarians, teachers and nurses, the percentage of women trained for the professions remained a static and relatively low percentage of all people educated and employed professionally between 1910 and 1960.²⁷

In 1970, the University of Michigan's Center for Continuing Education of Women sponsored a symposium on "Women on Campus," marking the 100th anniversary of the admission of women to the University of Michigan.²⁸ All the participants agreed that women students did not rank career education first in contrast to male students, who consistently oriented themselves primarily toward a career.

The roles women are supposed to play have shaped a number of syndromes familiar to women in the educational processes including: fear of success, passivity (the inability to express aggression directly), dependence, and denial ("a primitive psychological defense in which reality is simply not perceived"). These problems have defined and have brought to consciousness the necessity for a "new psychology of women," shaped by the needs of women. ■

BLACK WOMEN

(Continued from page 227)

ends and sexism takes over in the delineation of the black woman's place in society. But it is clear that even if black women achieve parity with white women, both groups will still be at a competitive disadvantage relative to white men. In 1972, the ratio of median earnings of white females to males was only 0.58.²⁹

As individuals and as a group, black women have made important contributions to the economic development of the United States and have provided the sustaining force for the maintenance of the black family. Although there is a wide debate about the relative importance of racism versus sexism in the determination of the black woman's position in American society, many black women believe that race discrimination is their most pressing problem. It is important to note that, when questioned, black women express a strong sense of concern about the status of all members of their race; therefore, they find it difficult to identify with some of the concerns of the women's liberation movement. Yet black women are aware that their future access to a fair share of the fruits of economic activity is intimately tied to the elimination of the sexist barriers faced by all women of all classes. ■

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

A CURRENT HISTORY chronology covering the most important events of March, 1976, to provide a day-by-day summary of world affairs.

INTERNATIONAL

European Economic Community (EEC)

Mar. 11—The 9-member European Parliament asks the heads of government of the European Economic Community to make sure that the first elections by universal suffrage throughout the Common Market take place by May, 1978.

Canada and the EEC begin negotiating in Brussels to try to increase trade between Canada and the EEC countries.

European Socialists

Mar. 13—European Socialist leaders begin meeting in Oporto, Portugal; the Socialists' ties or lack of ties to Communist parties will be explored.

International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women

Mar. 8—The first International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women closes 5 days of meetings in Brussels; about 1,000 women from 28 countries met to discuss solutions to the major problems affecting women.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

Mar. 6—In a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation interview, General Alexander M. Haig, NATO commander, warns that "managing global Soviet power" and its expansion is an increasing concern for NATO members.

Organization of African Unity (OAU)

(See *Saharan Arab Democratic Republic*)

United Nations

(See also *South Africa*)

Mar. 4—The United Nations Demographic Yearbook released today projects a world population double the 1974 population of 3.89 billion by the year 2010, provided that the 1.9-percent annual growth rate is maintained.

Mar. 13—The International Labor Organization reports the number of jobless in 23 industrialized nations has reached an 18-million level, the highest since the Great Depression of the 1930's.

Mar. 15—The United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea resumes; 156 nations are represented. Representatives are trying to reach international legal agreement on the use of the oceans.

Mar. 22—Israeli and Palestine Liberation Organization representatives disagree sharply in the Security Council debate over the fate of people in the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River.

Mar. 23—U.S. chief delegate William Scranton declares that Jewish settlements in occupied Arab territories present obstacles for future peace between Israel and the Arab countries.

Mar. 25—In the Security Council the United States vetoes a resolution deploring "Israel's failure to put a stop to . . . policies tending to change the status of the City of Jerusalem . . . and the establishment of Israeli settle-

ments" in occupied Arab lands. The veto defeats the resolution, 14-1.

Mar. 26—The Security Council begins to hear charges that troops from South Africa are involved in Angola; meanwhile, South African troops are completing their withdrawal from Angola after 9 months of involvement in the Angolan civil war.

Mar. 29—In the Security Council, the chief Cuban delegate hails the victory of Angolan revolutionaries.

ALGERIA

(See *Morocco; Saharan Arab Democratic Republic*)

ANGOLA

(See *Intl. U.N.; Cuba; South Africa*)

ARGENTINA

Mar. 5—Minister of Economy Emilio Mondelli details the government's "emergency plan" to fight inflation; the peso is devalued by 70 percent, a 12 percent wage increase is granted to some workers effective March 1, and a 180-day "truce" in wage and price increases is established.

Mar. 10—Faced with general labor unrest, President Isabel Martínez de Perón agrees to a 20 percent increase in wages.

Mar. 21—Political violence increases during the week as fighting between rightists and leftists leaves 40 people dead.

Mar. 24—Perón is arrested and taken into custody by members of the armed forces; she has steadfastly refused to resign. A 3-man junta, Lieutenant General Jorge Rafael Videla, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, Navy Commander Emilio Massera, and Air Force Commander Brigadier Orlando Agosti, takes over the government.

Martial law is declared and Peronist union leaders and political leaders are arrested in Buenos Aires and Córdoba.

Mar. 29—General Videla is sworn in as President of the military junta, which will rule for 3 years.

A Cabinet of 6 officers and 2 civilians is sworn in.

CAMBODIA

Mar. 4—Phnom Penh radio reports that Deputy Prime Minister Ieng Sary led foreign diplomats from 12 countries and a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization on a tour of northwestern Cambodia. The diplomats reportedly viewed the bomb site of a town that the government said was bombed by American planes "last week."

Mar. 7—In Peking, Swedish diplomat Kaj Bjork (a member of the delegation) describes Cambodia as a country whose people are working under "total mobilization."

Mar. 20—National elections are held for seats in the 250-member National Assembly.

Mar. 22—With a 98 percent turnout of eligible voters, election results give 50 seats to members of the army, 50 seats to factory workers, and the balance of the seats to "peasants."

CANADA(See also *Intl, EEC*)

Mar. 9—The government reaches an agreement with the Indian government over the use of nuclear reactors sold to India. The Indian government promises that the reactors will not be used to develop an explosive device.

CHAD(See *France*)**CHILE**(See *U.S., Foreign Policy*)**CHINA**

Mar. 3—The Communist party newspaper *Jenmin Jih Pao* calls for the "mobilization of the masses" to "criticize this capitalist roader in the party leadership who refuses to repent."

Mar. 17—The Communist party's central committee establishes a special commission to look into the "faults" of Deputy Prime Minister Teng and other rightists.

COLOMBIA

Mar. 19—Interior Minister Cornelio Reyes announces the tightening of the security measures imposed on the country in June, 1975, by President Alfonso López Michelsen.

CUBA(See also *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

Mar. 8—In Belgrade, Prime Minister Fidel Castro receives verbal support from Yugoslav President Josef Tito for Cuba's armed intervention in Angola.

Mar. 13—Castro meets in Algiers with Algerian President Houari Boumedienne.

Mar. 17—Castro warns the South African government that if it continues to occupy the land around the Cunene dam in Angola the fighting may start again and spread to Namibia and even to South Africa.

EGYPT(See also *Libya; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

Mar. 2—According to *The New York Times*, President Anwar Sadat claims the U.S. promised that Israel would not attack Syria and that every effort would be made to insure Palestinian participation in a Middle East settlement. He claims the promises were part of a secret agreement between Egypt and the U.S. at the time of the Sinai Accord in September, 1975.

Mar. 15—The People's Congress approves Sadat's request to end the treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union.

Mar. 28—The National Security Council calls for "joint Arab symbolic peace-keeping forces [in Lebanon] until the fighting subsides and a proper atmosphere is created to end" the civil war there.

Mar. 29—President Sadat begins a 5-nation tour in his search for arms and money. He arrives in Bonn, West Germany, and will also visit France, Italy, Yugoslavia and Austria.

FRANCE

Mar. 6—France and Chad restore normal diplomatic relations.

Mar. 9—Public employees stage a nationwide, one-day strike to protest wage contracts with the government.

Mar. 14—National election results for local General Councils show the Socialist party winning 27 percent of the

total vote and the Communist party winning 22 percent of the vote; the Independent Republican party of President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing retains control of the majority of the Councils.

Mar. 22—Prime Minister Jacques Chirac ends a 2-day visit to Libya. The French government agrees to provide Libya with a nuclear power plant.

GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF (West)(See also *Egypt*)

Mar. 12—Parliament approves a treaty with Poland that provides for the emigration of up to 125,000 ethnic Germans from Poland over the next 4 years; in exchange, Germany will extend long-term low interest trade credits to Poland.

Mar. 31—It is announced in Bonn that Soviet-German negotiations to enable Germany to build a nuclear power plant inside the Soviet Union have failed; the plan has been abandoned.

INDIA(See also *Canada*)

Mar. 8—The government releases Charan Singh, former chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, from jail, where he has been held since June, 1975.

Mar. 12—The government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi takes control over the coastal state of Gujarat. Under the President's Rule, the Congress party controls the administration of all 22 states.

Mar. 15—The government submits its first budget to Parliament since the declaration of an emergency in June, 1975.

Mar. 27—In nationwide elections for Parliament, the Congress party wins 18 additional seats. This gives the party a two-thirds majority.

INDONESIA

Mar. 20—The government begins to withdraw its troops from Portuguese Timor.

IRAQ(See *Lebanon*)**ISRAEL**(See also *Intl, U.N.; Egypt; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

Mar. 5—Former Prime Minister Golda Meir comes out of political retirement and joins Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's "leadership forum."

Mar. 10—Prime Minister Rabin tells Parliament that he did not give any secret commitment restricting Israel's freedom of action to U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger in negotiations prior to the Sinai agreement.

Mar. 17—In the old city of Jerusalem, Arab demonstrators continue to protest the Israeli presence in the West Bank of Jordan. Israeli soldiers open fire on a crowd of demonstrators.

Mar. 28—The government deports 2 Arab candidates for mayor in 2 West Bank cities on charges of inciting and organizing the recent violence in their cities.

Mar. 30—In cities throughout the northern region, striking Arab Israeli demonstrators clash with Israeli police; at least 5 Arabs are killed and 70 people are injured. The Arabs are protesting the government's proposal to expropriate their land.

Mar. 31—The Knesset defeats a Communist-supported motion to censure the administration for its handling of yesterday's Arab Israeli strikes and riots.

ITALY

Mar. 16—The Social Democratic party removes Mario Tanassi as head of the party. Tanassi is accused of taking bribes in the Lockheed scandal.

Mar. 18—The government announces a series of austerity measures to counteract the high inflation rate. Among the measures are an increase in the price of gasoline and the imposition of additional retail sales taxes.

JAPAN

Mar. 12—The government agrees to keep secret any information supplied by the U.S. government for its investigation of Japanese officials involved in the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation scandal. The U.S. government requested secrecy until all investigations are completed.

Mar. 13—Yoshio Kodama is formally charged with evading income tax payments; he is the first to be charged in the Lockheed scandal.

JORDAN

Mar. 30—In Washington, D.C., President Gerald Ford and Jordan's King Hussein release a joint appeal for a cease-fire and a political solution in Lebanon.

KOREA, REPUBLIC OF (South)

Mar. 2—12 political and religious leaders petition President Park Chung Hee to resign and rescind the emergency decrees issued in 1972.

Mar. 10—11 critics of the government are arrested and charged with plotting to overthrow the government. One of the 11, Kim Dae Jung, was the opposition party's most recent presidential candidate.

Mar. 12—In recent weeks, under the guise of a new "tenure" law, the government has forced the ouster of more than 400 university professors.

LEBANON

Mar. 9—Dissident Muslim soldiers from the Lebanese Army take over a garrison at Rasheiyia. Muslim defectors from the religiously integrated Lebanese Army are joining forces in the newly proclaimed Lebanese Arab Army led by Ahmed Al-Khatib; yesterday they took over a 12th-century Crusaders' castle at Arnun.

Mar. 12—In Beirut, the commander of the military garrison, Brigadier General Badel Aziz al-Ahdab, proclaims himself military governor of Lebanon. He demands the resignations of the President and the Prime Minister within 24 hours.

Mar. 13—66 of Parliament's 99 members sign a petition requesting the resignation of President Sulciman Franjieh. President Franjieh refuses to resign.

Mar. 22—After a 6-week lull, fighting breaks out between Christians and Muslims in the hotel district of Beirut. The Holiday Inn is again the scene of fierce fighting.

Mar. 25—The Presidential Palace is shelled, forcing President Franjieh to take refuge in a nearby Christian stronghold.

Mar. 27—Muslim leaders insist that there will be no cease-fire until President Franjieh resigns.

Mar. 29—In Beirut, talks between Syrian President Hafez al-Assad and leftist Muslim leader Kamal Jumblat collapse.

Muslim forces attack the Hilton Hotel, a stronghold of Maronite Christians. Fighting continues in the southeastern foothills of Beirut.

Mar. 30—The *New York Times* reports that the Iraqi government is threatening to send troops to Lebanon and to

Syria if the Syrian army intensifies its pressure for a cease-fire in Lebanon at Muslim expense.

LIBYA

(See also *France*)

Mar. 11—In retaliation for Egypt's recent arrest of 27 Libyans on charges of espionage, Head of State Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi orders 3,000 Egyptians out of Libya.

MOROCCO

Mar. 7—The government breaks off diplomatic relations with Algeria, following Algeria's recognition of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.

MOZAMBIQUE

(See also *Rhodesia*)

Mar. 3—In a radio address, President Samora Machel announces the closing of the borders and the cutting of all ties with Rhodesia. The President orders all Rhodesian property in the country seized. He says that an air and artillery attack on a village on the Limpopo River where Rhodesia, Mozambique and South Africa meet has prompted this action.

NIGER

Mar. 15—The government puts down an attempted coup d'état by an army faction.

NIGERIA

Mar. 6—Lieutenant Colonel B. S. Dimka is arrested for leading last month's attempted coup d'état.

Mar. 12—The government executes 30 people for their role in the attempted coup, including former Defense Minister Major General I. D. Bissala.

PERU

Mar. 27—The military government dismisses the editors of 6 national newspapers because they printed alarmist news.

PHILIPPINES

Mar. 27—President Ferdinand E. Marcos fires the 3 leaders of the armed forces plus 5 generals. This is the 1st shakeup in the armed forces since the government declared martial law 3 years ago.

POLAND

(See *Germany, West*)

PORTUGAL

Mar. 4—Former military security chief Major Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho is released from prison.

Mar. 17—Attacking the government's decolonization policy, Secretary of State Commander Jose Gomes Mota submits his resignation.

RHODESIA

(See also *Mozambique*)

Mar. 1—Black nationalist leader Joshua Nkomo says that the Ian Smith government has put forth "new and interesting" proposals in the constitutional talks.

Mar. 9—A government spokesman says that since late January, 1976, fighting between nationalist guerrillas and government troops has extended to the full length of the 800-mile border with Mozambique.

Mar. 19—In Salisbury, negotiations between nationalists

and the Smith government end as the 2 sides ask Great Britain to help break the deadlock.

Mar. 22—In London, British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan presents a 2-stage plan to the British Parliament to end the deadlock; he tells Parliament that Britain will provide no assistance unless the Smith government agrees to the concept of majority rule and promises to hold elections within 2 years.

Mar. 23—Prime Minister Ian D. Smith rejects Britain's conditions for aiding Rhodesia.

SAHARAN ARAB DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

(See also *Morocco*)

Mar. 1—At a meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa, it is announced that on February 25 the Polisario independence movement proclaimed the republic of Saharan Arab Democratic Republic in the Western Sahara, the former Spanish Sahara.

Mar. 6—The Polisario government is recognized by Algeria; Burundi and Madagascar have already granted it recognition.

SAUDI ARABIA

Mar. 12—After meeting since March 7 at a guarded site in Panama City, Florida, officials of the Arabian American Oil Company and Saudi Arabia's oil minister, Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, announce general agreement on the takeover of ARAMCO by the Saudis from the four American companies that have been holding 40 percent of the company. The companies are Exxon, Texaco, Standard Oil of California and Mobil.

SOUTH AFRICA

(See also *Intl. U.N.; Cuba*)

Mar. 13—In the United Nations, the South African government announces that it is willing to withdraw all its troops from Angola if the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola is willing to come to a satisfactory agreement over the \$400-million Cunene River project along the South-West Africa border.

Mar. 27—The government completes its troop withdrawal from Angola after receiving assurance from Angola that South Africa's border interests will be protected.

Mar. 31—The government proposes a 42 percent defense spending increase to counter guerrilla threats.

SPAIN

Mar. 3—In the Basque city of Vitoria, fighting breaks out between police and striking workers. 3 people are reported killed.

Mar. 11—In the wake of the fighting between police and demonstrators, *Gaceta Ilustrada*, a weekly magazine, calls on the Cabinet to resign.

Mar. 18—The Cabinet approves measures designed to soften labor's criticism by making changes in the penal code and expanding the rights of political association and assembly. Parliament must approve the measures.

Mar. 28—In Bilbao, more than 1,000 Roman Catholic priests sign a declaration supporting the Basque workers and denouncing the government's "extraordinary methods of repression."

SYRIA

(See *Lebanon*)

THAILAND

Mar. 20—The government asks the U.S. to remove all but 270 military personnel by July 4, 1976. The U.S. hoped

to leave 3,000 troops in Thailand to man various installations.

Mar. 21—The U.S. military ceases all operations in Thailand in preparation for its final withdrawal.

TURKEY

(See *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

U.S.S.R.

(See also *Egypt; Germany, West*)

Mar. 1—In a speech to the 25th Communist party Congress, Prime Minister Aleksei Kosygin claims his country has made important increases in industrial output and that its industrial output is increasing at an annual rate of 7.4 percent compared to the 1.2 percent annual rate in the U.S. and EEC countries.

Mar. 5—Communist Party Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev announces the names of the members of the new Politburo. Minister of Agriculture Dmitri S. Polyansky is removed from the Politburo.

Mar. 6—Figures released in the government's foreign trade magazine show that the Soviet trade deficit with the West increased to \$2.4 billion in the first half of 1975.

Polyansky is permitted to retain his seat on the party's Central Committee.

Mar. 16—Valentin K. Mesyats replaces Polyansky as Minister of Agriculture.

UNITED KINGDOM

Great Britain

(See also *Rhodesia*)

Mar. 5—For the first time, the value of the British pound sterling drops below \$2.00.

Mar. 10—Prime Minister Harold Wilson's proposal to limit the growth of public spending is defeated in Parliament by 28 votes.

Mar. 11—Prime Minister Wilson wins a face-saving parliamentary vote by a margin of 17 votes.

Mar. 16—Prime Minister Wilson submits his resignation to Queen Elizabeth II. His resignation will take effect as soon as the Labor party selects a successor.

Northern Ireland

Mar. 3—The Northern Ireland Convention meeting in Belfast to draft a new constitution for Northern Ireland disbands without reaching an agreement.

Mar. 5—Britain's Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Merlyn Rees tells Parliament that the Northern Ireland Convention is dissolved and that Britain will continue to administer the province.

UNITED STATES

Administration

Mar. 3—White House Press Secretary Ron Nessen discloses that without the prior knowledge or approval of President Gerald Ford, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger arranged for former President Richard Nixon to provide a written report on his February trip to China.

Mar. 7—In the text of a speech to be delivered March 8, Postmaster General Benjamin F. Bailar says that the United States Postal Service must be remade to conform to new "economic reality" and that, because of continued lower mail volume, new ways must be devised to lower the annual loss in operating the system. At times its operating deficits have been \$200 million per month.

Mar. 10—President Ford reveals that he is expanding the size of the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board from 10

to 17 members; the 2 new members are former Treasury Secretary John B. Connally and former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird.

Mar. 11—Testifying at the Privacy Protection Study Commission hearings in Washington, D.C., Internal Revenue Commissioner Donald C. Alexander says that in 1975 the federal income tax returns of 6,704 individual taxpayers were turned over to the Department of Justice for use in criminal cases not related to tax matters.

The United States Postal Service announces reductions in business mail services in 24 eastern and southern cities. Effective May 17, 3-a-day mail deliveries will be cut to 2; 2-a-day deliveries will be cut to 1 on March 29.

Mar. 16—President Ford decides to delay imposing import quotas on stainless and "specialty" steels for 90 days while trying to negotiate an "orderly marketing agreement" with foreign producers, although the Federal Trade Commission recommended import quotas under the 1974 Trade Act to avoid injury to domestic producers.

Mar. 17—Treasury Secretary William E. Simon presents an administration proposal to the Senate Finance Committee that calls for a sliding-scale reduction in capital gains taxes to stimulate investment.

Mar. 19—The U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia rules that the Environmental Protection Agency has the authority to order reductions in the amount of lead in gasoline to avoid non-proven but potential public health hazards.

Mar. 24—President Ford says he expects to ask Congress for a \$135-million appropriation to insure production of a vaccine against a new type of influenza expected next winter; the President says he is "asking each and every American to receive an inoculation this fall."

Mar. 28—According to reports made public today, Federal Bureau of Investigation agents burglarized offices of the Socialist Workers party and affiliated organizations 92 times in the period from 1960 to 1966; the burglaries produced 10,000 photographs of documents and letters.

Mar. 30—It is reported in Washington, D.C., that Attorney General Edward Levi will tell the FBI to inform all citizens who were the unknowing targets of Cointelpro, a 17-year program of harassment by the FBI. Citizens may institute civil lawsuits or demand destruction of their files.

Mar. 31—The President names Commerce Secretary Elliott Richardson to head a Cabinet-level commission to investigate foreign bribes by multinational companies.

Civil Rights

(See also *Supreme Court*)

Mar. 10—In Dallas, U.S. District Court Judge William M. Taylor, Jr., hands down a ruling that calls for the busing of 20,000 students and the division of the city into 5 districts to make racial integration in Dallas schools possible.

Mar. 12—The Kentucky State Senate defeats an attempt to rescind Kentucky's ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Economy

Mar. 4—The Labor Department reports that the wholesale price index dropped 0.5 percent in February.

Mar. 19—The Labor Department reports only a 0.1 percent increase in the consumer price index for February.

Mar. 24—The Dow Jones industrial average closes at 1009.21, its highest level in three years.

Foreign Policy

(See also *Egypt; Japan; Jordan*)

Mar. 2—Following 2 days of talks in Tel Aviv with Israeli Finance Minister Yehoshua Rabinowitz, Treasury Secretary William E. Simon and Rabinowitz sign an agreement under which the U.S. will help Israeli businessmen find customers and investors in the U.S.

Mar. 3—It is reported that the administration has informed members of Congress that it would like to sell 6 C-130 military transport planes to Egypt, lifting an embargo on military sales to that country.

Mar. 4—In testimony before the House Committee on International Relations, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger warns Cuba to "act with great circumspection" in Africa; he is referring to Cuban involvement in Angola.

Mar. 5—An article appearing in *Foreign Policy* magazine appears to give details of secret discussions between Kissinger and Middle East leaders, among them, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and Israeli Premier Yigal Allon.

Mar. 7—At the conclusion of a 3-day visit to Egypt, Treasury Secretary William Simon praises Egyptian President Anwar Sadat for having "broken with the Soviet Union"; he promises \$1.85 billion in U.S. aid to Egypt in this and the next fiscal years.

Mar. 8—A State Department spokesman says that the employee who leaked secret information on which the article in *Foreign Policy* magazine was based will be disciplined.

Mar. 11—In a sworn statement made public today, former President Richard Nixon says "I recall discussing the direct expenditure of funds to assist Mr. Allende's opponents . . . and the effort to enlist support of various factions, including the military, behind a candidate who could defeat Mr. Allende in the congressional confirmation procedure" to prevent Salvador Allende Gossens from becoming Chilean President in 1970. Nixon also states that "it is quite obvious that there are certain inherently governmental actions which, if undertaken by the sovereign in protection of the interest of the nation's security, are lawful but which, undertaken by private persons, are not."

Mar. 12—Deputy Under Secretary for Management Lawrence Eagleburger reveals that 2 high State Department officials have been reprimanded by Kissinger for disclosing details of his secret Mideast conversations.

State Department and White House officials report that the U.S. is continuing a 12-year ban on Export-Import Bank loans to South Africa.

Mar. 19—President Gerald Ford names former Defense Secretary Thomas S. Gates to head the United States liaison mission to China, succeeding George Bush.

Mar. 22—White House Press Secretary Ron Nessen reports that last week President Ford received Richard Nixon's report on his trip to China and found it "very interesting and useful."

Mar. 26—Representative G. V. Montgomery (D., Mississippi) announces that in a message to Hanoi the Ford administration has expressed a hope that all matters in dispute between the U.S. and North Vietnam can be discussed and eventually resolved; the key issue is the fate of about 850 Americans still reported as missing-in-action.

The U.S. and Turkey reach a new 4-year accord to allow American military bases in Turkey to be reopened; in return, the administration pledges about \$1 billion in loans and grants, which must be approved by both houses of Congress.

Legislation

Mar. 1—President Gerald Ford sends the \$3.3-billion Financial Assistance for Elementary and Secondary Education Act to Congress. The bill consolidates 24 educa-

tional programs; the states will receive the \$3.3 billion in block grants to formulate their own programs, mostly for the poor and handicapped.

Mar. 3—The Senate confirms William W. Scranton, former Pennsylvania governor, as chief United States delegate to the United Nations and Robert Strausz-Hupé as North Atlantic Treaty Organization representative.

Mar. 4—In a unanimous vote, the Senate seats Senator Henry Bellmon (R., Okla.); Democrat Ed Edmondson, contested the seat for 16 months.

Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.) announces that he will not stand for reelection in November, 1976; he has been the majority leader of the Senate for 15 years, longer than any other person.

Mar. 29—The House appropriates \$150,000 for the House Ethics Committee investigation of leaks of the report of the House Select Committee on Intelligence; excerpts from the unpublished report on the CIA have been published in *The Village Voice*, a New York newspaper.

Mar. 30—Voting 346 to 52, the House completes congressional action on a bill that establishes U.S. control of fishing waters for 200 miles off its coastline.

The President signs a \$2.14-billion appropriation bill for improving commuter rail service between Washington, D.C., New York, and Boston.

Mar. 31—Voting 390 to 5, the House completes congressional action on a bill ordering the Navy to pump oil from its Elk Hills, California, reserve for commercial use.

Political Scandal

Mar. 3—According to documents filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company paid out at least \$845,000 to the employees or agents of foreign governments during a 6-year period starting in 1970.

Mar. 4—A spokesman for the Gulf Oil Corporation says the board of directors of the company has felt a responsibility to the stockholders to request politicians who accepted illegal contributions from Gulf to return the money.

Mar. 10—A deposition by former President Richard Nixon, made public in Washington, D.C., today, says that Nixon ordered a program of telephone wiretaps, but that as National Security Adviser Kissinger supplied the FBI with the names of those to be checked.

Mar. 13—Former Army Secretary Howard H. Callaway is suspended as head of President Ford's reelection campaign during the investigation of reports of improper use of influence to permit expansion of a Colorado ski resort in which Callaway had an interest.

Mar. 17—A list of 39 military and civilian officials who were guests of a large defense contractor, Rockwell International, Inc., at its Maryland hunting lodge, is turned over to Senator William Proxmire (D., Wisc.), chairman of the Congressional Joint Committee on Defense Production; included on the list is the name of Admiral Thomas Moorer, who retired in June, 1974, as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Political Terrorism

Mar. 20—In U.S. District Court in San Francisco, Patricia Hearst is convicted of armed bank robbery and felony.

Politics

Mar. 2—In Vermont, President Gerald Ford wins the non-binding Republican primary; former Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter wins the Democratic primary. In Massa-

chusetts, Senator Henry Jackson (D., Wash.) wins the Democratic primary; President Ford edges out former California Governor Ronald Reagan in the Republican primary.

Mar. 4—Senator Birch Bayh (D., Ind.) is "suspending" his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Mar. 9—In the Florida Republican primary, President Ford beats Reagan; and in the Democratic race, Jimmy Carter unexpectedly beats Alabama Governor George Wallace.

Mar. 12—Pennsylvania Governor Milton J. Shapp withdraws from the Democratic presidential nomination race.

Mar. 16—In the nonbinding Illinois Republican primary President Ford again defeats Ronald Reagan; Carter wins over 3 other Democratic contenders.

Mar. 18—Senator Frank Church (D., Id.) declares himself a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Mar. 22—After a poor primary record, Sargent Shriver drops from the race for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Mar. 23—Ronald Reagan wins an upset victory over President Ford in the North Carolina Republican primary; Jimmy Carter again beats Alabama's George Wallace.

Mar. 30—White House political counselor Rogers C. B. Morton succeeds Howard H. Callaway as President Ford's campaign manager; Callaway faces charges of using improper influence while he was Secretary of the Army.

Science and Space

Mar. 2—The National Resources Defense Council, the Sierra Club and the Union of Concerned Scientists file a petition with the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to bar the shipment of 40,000 pounds of uranium to India, claiming that this shipment would be "inimical to the interests of the United States"; the groups claim that India has refused to sign the treaty on nuclear non-proliferation and has refused safeguard inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Supreme Court

Mar. 1—The Supreme Court refuses to hear a case challenging a 1973 statute that permits private hospitals aided by federal funds to refuse to perform sterilizations or abortions on either "religious" or "moral" grounds.

Mar. 24—The Supreme Court rules 5 to 3 that military personnel have no right to be defended by an attorney at a summary court martial even if they face a sentence of up to 45 days in confinement.

Ruling 5 to 3, the Court decides that blacks who have been denied jobs in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act must receive retroactive seniority once they secure those jobs; this ruling apparently applies also to women discriminated against because of their sex.

Mar. 29—The Court rules 6 to 3 to accept a lower court ruling that rejected a challenge to a Virginia law prohibiting homosexual acts even if these acts are undertaken privately by consenting adults. The lower court ruling rejected a plea that the law violated constitutional protections and the right to privacy.

VIETNAM

Mar. 6—In Moscow, Nguyen Thi Binh, a high official in Saigon's Provisional Revolutionary Government, says that after reunification there will be 5 economic sectors; private enterprise will be permitted.

YUGOSLAVIA

(See *Cuba; Egypt*)

The Nineteenth Amendment: Suffrage in Text and Cartoon



The Sky Is Now Her Limit

—Central Press Association, Cleveland

“Deal Me In!”



—Central Press Association, Cleveland

The Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

—Proclaimed as an amendment to the U.S. constitution by Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby, August 26, 1920.

If They Only Knew!



“Well, boys, we saved the home.”

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